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CAMPAIGNS

OF

OSMAN SULTANS.

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OF

OSMAN SULTANS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JAMES MOYES,

Castle Street, Leicester Square.

CAMPAIGNS

OF

OSMAN SULTANS,

CHIEFLY IN

WESTERN ASIA:

FROM BĀYEZYD ILDIRIM TO THE DEATH OF

MURAD THE FOURTH.

(1389—1640.)

From the German of

JOSEPH VON HAMMER.

By THOMAS AQUILA DALE.

With a Map, and Appendix.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

389905
No more published. 12.3.41

LONDON:

WILLIAM STRAKER, 443 WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XXXV.

TO

HIS SUBSCRIBERS,

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PREFACE.

The best works of genius require no preface, or only a very short one, like that of Herodotus, which is a model in its way; for the historian puts his readers in possession at once of the nature of his work, and of his reasons for undertaking it, with as much judgment as brevity. Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσῆος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε· ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστὰ, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται· τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι. After this example, if not in exact imitation of it, a modern biographer of peculiar excellence, and of higher purpose, succinctly despatches the design of his sketch in the following words:—"To encourage real genius, struggling against early disadvantages; to prove the solid benefits of a steady probity; and, above all, to exemplify the divine maxim, that 'wisdom is justified of all her children,' the following

short memoirs of the late John Bacon, Esq. are presented to the public."

Those who handle inferior subjects, are less happy. By "inferior," we would be understood to mean works containing some inherent or some unavoidable and accidental fault, whether of a graver or of a lesser cast; conceiving, that to the former class belongs the absence of direct good, not to mention any poisonous ingredient mixed up in them; and to the latter, any difficulties arising from the abstruseness of the subject, or from localities and manners altogether different from those to which the readers of the work in question are accustomed. All such works require a pioneering preface; and since a translator may, in some of these points at least, occupy a less enviable position than his author; and further, because the original work may, in some peculiar nationality, be delightful to those for whom it was primarily written, while the want of this peculiarity is, or ought to be, obvious to the translator, they compel the latter to draw upon the indulgence of his readers in exact proportion to the difficulties with which he has embarrassed

himself. Thus it will not be pretended by any one that the history of the Osman empire generally can present matter of equal interest to a German and an Englishman. The reasons of which are too obvious to require mention in this place; further than the notice of that affinity which Oriental philologists have pointed out as existing between the Turkish and Hungarian languages.

Perhaps many lessons of politics, perhaps even of morality, may be capable of being gathered from "Von Hammer's History of the Osman Empire;" but, in a short abstract like the present, both the facts themselves, and the sentiments occasionally interwoven by the author into his narrative, will lead every one to such conclusions as are agreeable to his own bias. To interfere, therefore, with that bias by anticipating those conclusions, would justly be deemed presumptuous; while some of the causes above mentioned, as they seem to forbid the writer of these lines to send forth his first volume *sub silentio*, so also do they lead him to the explicit avowal of opinions which, compromising no subscriber, it is hoped may escape censure.

Most translators, whether from gratitude, or from kindred likes and dislikes, are diffuse in encomiums on their respective authors: their praise is as unqualified as their enthusiasm is unmeasured; and if the latter property be necessary in order to a good translation, the following pages exhibit a very imperfect "transfusion of the spirit of the original," as Crombie somewhere expresses himself; for they were undertaken only as a good vehicle of the geography of the countries comprised in the map, and have no higher pretensions. As, however, this their design may be partly overlooked, and others may judge that better portions of "Von Hammer's Osman History" might have been selected, if not for better purposes, a very cursory survey of that work is necessary. It is confessedly an ungracious task to withhold the highest commendations after having ransacked a man's treasures; and those treasures too, which to the οἱ πολλοί were inaccessible, not less from being locked up in the Oriental languages, than because they were scattered all over the world, most of them costly and rare manuscripts; others of them though printed, yet the sacred κειμήλια of the opulent collector; and all

nearly unknown to, and therefore unused by, European writers of Osman history. The very learned German published his work in nine large octavo volumes, each containing about seven hundred pages; and he has recounted, without ostentation, the several sources, by far the greatest part of them unedited, whence his materials are drawn. In those materials, thus wrought up into one connected plan, there is no want of novelty, no deficiency of soul-stirring incidents. A distinction however is to be taken between novelty and originality; and also between a story arousing the attention, and that which kindles an interest congenial with the better feelings of our nature. It is in this latter essential that the history of the Osman Empire, if weighed in the balance, will be found wanting. The novelty of the facts recorded is unquestionable, from the circumstance above mentioned; nor can the facts *per se* fail to arrest the mind, as long as there be a soul strung to scenes of real tragedy. But they are not original: nor is this any fault of the historian. They admit not of originality. They must necessarily partake of the general

features of all the histories of mankind, ancient or modern, whether treating of semi-barbarians, or of civilised nations, or of savages. Those features exhibit the unfavourable side of human nature, even in countries professedly Christian. And that this is true in a tenfold degree of Osman history is so far from being an idle assertion, that should any reader in turning over these extracts exclaim, *satius erat manum abstinere*, he may at least be consoled by reflecting, that the probability of Von Hammer's nine volumes ever being put into an English dress is infinitesimal.

Scarcely does there meet the eye one redeeming look of mercy—scarcely one isolated trait of goodness—scarcely one healing drop of the milk of human kindness,—which might prove the tyrants, whose pictures are faithfully portrayed on the tablet, to possess a feeling in common with their species; which can rescue the recorded series of events and deeds from our deliberately expressed conviction, that Osman history does not contain within itself subject-matter, the greatest and best possible for engaging reflection: and that we look almost in vain for incidents

which shall rouse to generosity, or kindle to patriotism, or soften to tenderness. Were the facts less terrible, or even less unvarying in cruelty, they might awaken sympathy. In other histories some figures stand out occasionally in bold relief to refresh the monotony of tyrannising selfishness. Not so in the Osman drama. If in it, perchance, any being of this order perform a part, such a character will be found among those powers who were Christian, however lowered and degraded was the tone of their profession. An exception, it is true, may be taken to this remark at the very outset of the following pages, in the case of John and Manuel betraying their own city of Philadelphia to the Moslems. The same objection, too, may be fairly urged in the treatment of Prince Jem* by the court of Rome: a treatment admitting of no palliation, and exhibiting as

* D'Aubusson, the grand-master of Rhodes, popes Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., were the kidnapping parties in this nefarious transaction, which Guicciardini truly describes as attributable mainly to the inordinate avarice of the pontiffs. (*Istoria d'Italia*, Vol. I. p. 167.) The full account of it makes up the 19th book of Hammer's 2d vol.

systematic a process on the part of the Papacy, for drawing the snares round its victim, in order to secure a paltry bribe from Bayezyd II., as Suleiman himself used at a later period in the pursuit of an unhappy son, for the gratification of his malignant jealousy. But these examples are not fatal to the truth of the remark, as a general proposition.

Was then, it may be inquired, either Murad, the Osman Nero, or were any of his predecessors, the most mischievous of all tyrants in the annals of savage and unrelenting ferocity? We think not. Such a censure would be as gross a calumny, as to represent them innocent would be to confound the measures of right and wrong. Let it be granted, that the idea of extenuating the crimes of these semi-barbarian despots is revolting to common sense; and that he is truly insane who can pervert the name of "Great," by bestowing it on Suleiman: still the tyranny of the Muhammedan Sultans is not unparalleled. A sultan exists, with greater capacities of cruelty than they had, and who has more unsparingly abused his power; whose achievements put all other

tyrants of every age into the shade—who, in the space of five years, devoured more than one million and a half of human beings, and then lay wearied out, not satiated, with drinking human gore, like an overgorged boa constrictor; when another despot, for a season, kept him iron-bound.

His friends call him Demus, his enemies Caco-dæmon. The styles and titles which he arrogates to himself are, "Αὐτόκρατος," "Ubiquitous," "His Majesty," and "Vox Dei." From his baby years, when, as Δημίδιον φίλτατον, he was petted and fattened on Pylian custards and on oyster-shells up to these later days of his cannibalism, when, as the pemmican of tyranny personified, he clutched up, at "one fell swoop," ten thousand of his species in the streets of Pekin; strangling them with the same ease, and with the same penchant too, that the serpents did Laocoon and his sons; as well as of his subsequent descent on the western isles of Majorca and Minorca, where he now struggles for the supremacy, a goodly folio might be formed of his exploits, compared with the horrors of which, charnel-houses would be odoriferous, and murders, like that of D'Enghien,

were all but praiseworthy. A Zeluco in his boyhood, a Marius or a Cæsar in his adolescence, ("utrum horum mavis accipe," *Eton Lat. Gram.* p. 102) no likeness can be found for his frantic old age. The universal sufferings, from whatever other combined and multitudinous causes springing, of all the nations over whom this no-ideal personage has gained ascendancy, would mount up and kick the beam against his preponderating annihilation of the happiness of mankind.

But, as no exposé would go one iota to tame this Leviathan, (that is the task of Omnipotence alone,—of his goodness and in his fit time to accomplish) we must leave him in the hands of his idolatrous worshipper Buonarotti, *et id genus omne*, for admiration; and to Aristophanes, and his editor, for contemptuous abhorrence. For ourselves, we find the character of this despot summed up, in the only book which he fears, in two words, "implacable, unmerciful."*

* Where Demus has established his courts of judicature, the only crime, of which they take cognisance, is the "crimen læsæ majestatis." This crime, according to the tyrant's code, consists in, 1st, Denying Demus to be justly the sole arbiter of right and wrong; 2d, Being one of the

It remains to offer some few observations on the sketch prefixed to this first volume, and on the nature of the Appendix, which will constitute the second.

No one can look with indifference on spots not only endeared by numerous classical recollections, but many of them consecrated, directly or indirectly, by references to Scripture history.

Such materials, therefore, as have been brought together, are directed to localities of sites, and an endeavour to identify the modern with the ancient places, rather than to statistic and physical geography.

From several works by no means united

Eupatrids; 3d, Uttering such quotations as, Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη; 4th, Possessing any house, land, museum, library, monies, dress, which Demus, or any of his underlings, covet; 5th, Possessing any endowment of body or of mind, which is hostile, or supposed to be hostile, to Demus and his despotism. The depositions of accused persons are taken à l'Ambroise in *Gil Blas*,—the officer coolly observing, "Ce qui vient de déposer le véridique Gaspard suffisait pour faire brûler toute une juiverie;" and a mock trial then takes place before my Lord Hategood and that special jury mentioned by Bunyan in his *Pilgrim's Progress*.—Pp. 124—126; Southey's edit. See the Pekin gazettes *passim* from 1790 to 1796 inclusive.

in one common object, extracts have been made, which, that they are not more copious, may subject the compiler to animadversion; but so abundant has been the supply of authentic documents upon Western Asia since the first commencement of the notes, that the mean between a meagre statement and a too heavy mass of authorities may not always have been preserved. A work of the very first importance for the line of the Euphrates from Bir to the Persian Gulf, is "Captain (now Colonel) Chesney's Memoir." It is matter of regret that so valuable a book (printed only for private distribution,) could not be procured till after the entire finishing of the engraving. So far as the non-junction of the Alhuali with the Khābūr is concerned (a supposed junction, to which all maps—except that of Larcher, prefixed to his translation of the Anabasis, who is followed by Williams—obstinately adhere), there is a satisfaction in seeing that the separation of the two rivers appears on Captain Chesney's smaller map, though not exactly in the same way as in Larcher. The former of these two geographers makes no mention of any river falling into the Euphrates, as the representa-

Tygris
Khabour
Frat
River of Nisibis

tive of the Mascas or Saocoras; and turns the Alhuali, or river of Sinjar, into the river of Nisibis, or the Djadjak, according to the representation annexed, copied from his map.

That the Abou-Ghalgal of Rousseau, or the Fay-Fountain of Rennel, does not exist where it is laid down, cannot be concluded with certainty, from its absence in the "Memoir" above mentioned; for Rousseau's residence at Haleb afforded him many opportunities of inquiry, and the very minor importance of the river in a commercial view might render it too insignificant a stream to form a definite object of search in a case where the examination of the Euphrates for commercial purposes was the one main consideration. To a reader of *Xenophon's Anabasis*, however, it would be desirable that both it and the Mascas should be correctly drawn.

The site of *Opis* is laid down at lat. 34°, where D'Anville, Rennell, Larcher, nearly agree in placing it. Kinneir sets it 10′ farther north, at the ruins of Judsea; and B. du Bocage at lat. 34° 50′, whose remark upon its situation, as well as that of *Sitace*, is here introduced, in the hope that some one may

be able to reconcile, if possible, his statement with that of other writers mentioning *Sittacene*. B. du Bocage (Précis de Géographie Ancienne, p. 690,) says, "On the Tigris stands *Opis*, a town, which was the utmost point reached by Alexander in his voyage up that river, and supposed by D'Anville to have been afterwards called *Antiochia*. Perhaps its ruins are those which are now called Esteblat. As you descend the river, *Sitace*, the capital of this province, is not Karkuf [Aggarkouf], according to the supposition hitherto held; but its ruins are to be still seen close to the town of Herbé, situated in an island formed by a canal drawn from the Tigris, and which rejoins that river again a little above Baghdád."

Respecting any map with this "Esteblat" of B. du Bocage, information is not readily obtained. Harbé is delineated at about 33° 55′ north lat. by Niebuhr, and at 34° by Rennell and Duprè; while it is omitted by Olivier, Lapie, Kinneir, and Hammer. The confluence of the *Physcus* with the Tigris at *Opis*, a little below 34°, on the maps of D'Anville, Rennell, Vincent, and Larcher, is found fault with by Fortia d'Urban (art.

Opis), who maintains that the representation of B. du Bocage is correct. Vincent's note upon *Opis* is considered by the same author to be right, as far as it goes to identify the *Physcus* with the *Tornadotus* of Pliny, the *Gorgos* of Ptolemy, the Odoine of Tavernier, and the Dus of Olivier. Further remarks would lead to a long discussion; so that the reader may consult, besides the above works, p. 812 of "Examen Critique des Hist. Alexand." But it should be added, that in the map by Sir J. Sutherland, accompanying Sir H. J. Brydges' dynasty of the Kajars, no stream is drawn as entering the Tigris at *Opis;* while a modern traveller, speaking of the water of Delli Abbas, is of opinion that that water does so disembogue into the Tigris; acknowledging, however, that the information he received from the natives was at variance with his own belief. Should the name, then, of "fairy" stream be applied to it, the whole of the tract within the oblong square will at least claim exemption from the same epithet;—a tract, the greater part of which, till the publication of Colonel Monteith's large map of Armenia, was less known

than the interior of Africa, and some knowledge of which now puts to flight certain modern conjectures as to the possibility of Xenophon's retreat having been conducted in any other direction than nearly along the course of the Tigris, as Rennell and Kinneir had supposed; and thence continued on the western side of the lake Van, in which supposition Colonel Monteith concurs. (*Geograp. Jour.* Vol. III. p. 51.) Colonel Monteith's is the only map containing any real delineation of a territory, which, if the notes of M. Schultz be ever recovered, we may hope will be still more satisfactorily detailed. (See *Asiatic Journal*, No. I. p. 124.)

Of the whole of the interior of the desert of Sinjar,—that is, from a very few miles north of the Euphrates, up to south of the line leading from Nisibis to Mosul, and reaching eastward as far as the Tigris, and westward to the Bilekh River,—little appears to be at present known with certainty.

Hossn Keif occupies the site given to it in the present sketch, according to Von Hammer's second map; and contrary to others, because there is no proof of any tra-

veller having visited that spot since Kinneir, who has corrupted the name into that of Osman Koi, as the learned Orientalist leads us to believe: (Vol. II. p. 648). That being the case, Hossn Keif must be transferred from the place it usually retains on maps, to the confluence of the Batman-su with the Tigris.

From the testimony of "Missionary Researches in Armenia," (an American book, republished in England,) the point of locality for Shabin Karahissar is to be removed farther westward by eighteen geographic miles. Karahissar is forty-one hours from Tokát, or 123 British miles; and is placed as much too far west by Kinneir, who allows only 100 British miles between it and Tokát, as it is too far east by Jaubert, who gives 135 British miles between the two places. Karahissar was laid down upon the authority of the latter writer. For these and other errors, indulgence is solicited, if it were only on the ground that nothing worthy the name of a map can be the result of combinations; or, in other words, that surveys only, and latitude and longitude astronomically determined, can present the face of a country.

The representation of Oriental* names by English characters, always difficult to those who are themselves unacquainted with Eastern languages, has been in the present instance increased by the circumstance of scholars, equally eminent for their attainments in these languages, differing with each other. When it was found that men, whose opinions on this subject are entitled to attention, variously spelled "Cabgiah," "Cap-tchak," "Kip-tchak," "Cabgiak," "Kibchak," "Kipchak;" and "Máwar en' nahr," "Máwer el nahr," "Máwerá' al nahr," "Mavar al Nahar," "Maveralnaher;" and "Taimúr," "Timur," "Timoor," "Timour;" and when an Orientalist of long-established celebrity thinks "the *exact* pronunciation of a proper name is of little consequence to the European reader," uniformity was disregarded, except in avoiding the "false orthography" of the French literati in "their partiality for the letter C," — and in writing "Muhammed" and "Amyr," because "Mahomet," and "Emir," and "Umeer," "destroy the ety-

* Mitford's remarks (*History of Greece*, Vol. X. pp. 234, 5) afford no help.

mology."—See Major Stewart's Preface to his *Translation of Memoirs of Timur*, p. vii.

But we are, by these lengthened remarks, unconsciously overstepping the bounds of ordinary good nature, and therefore hasten to a close; introducing the more direct object of the appendix by a quotation from a professor,* who says, "That to expect fully to make out an Oriental book, such as the Bible is, without the assistance of Oriental learning, is, in my opinion, a perfect absurdity." With still greater explicitness, though with somewhat of caustic flippancy, Sestini remarks (p. 61), "If all the divines who have written commentaries on the Bible, could possibly traverse the ancient spots of Syria, Arabia, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, for the purpose of a better acquaintance with the languages and manners of the natives, as well as the localities of places, I venture to affirm that there would be fewer disputes and subtle arguments raised upon their interpretations and comments, and ambiguous decisions." It is matter of exultation to us, that long before

* Lee's Heb. Gram. Pref. p. xix.

the Abbé was capable of penning a sentence, many a son of Isis and of Cam had crossed the Levant for the express purpose of acquiring a knowledge of, or extending his previous acquaintance with, that Oriental learning which was to subserve, not Biblical literature, but Biblical truth. Maundrell, Smith, Shaw, Pocock, Spon, Wheler, had wrought, as successfully as the Abbé did afterwards, and "with the honest and good heart," too, in a vineyard which invited their labours. To Chandler, who travelled a few years before Sestini, succeeded names which yield to no savans of any nation, whether in the excellent object of their researches, or in the science brought to bear upon them, or in the skill with which they were conducted, or in the judicious application of the fruits of their toils.

Nor is it in the spirit of derogating from the truly valuable efforts of men of professed science, that, as long as the Holy Scriptures shall be venerated, we challenge respect for the names of Brown, Clarke (the mineralogist), Dodwell, Waddington, Arundell; whose exertions, if neither, on the one hand, primarily and directly applied to missionary

designs, like those of Jowett and Gobat, and (the Americans) Dwight and Smith; nor, on the other hand, to purely physical questions, like those of the enterprising *conoscenti* to whom this age is under such deep obligations, —have yet given to the world works of lasting interest on Oriental sites, customs, and forms of language; all of them in various ways illustrative of Scripture history and geography. With these and similar works the extracts from Golius, Schultens, Michaelis, Simonis, Gesenius, Vater, and Rosenmüller, which may appear in the second volume of this work, are intended to be compared; in adducing whose testimonies and criticisms no ability is arrogated of questioning their representations or of reconciling their discrepancies; the right of private judgment, however, being reserved to canvass doubtful points, and to examine some localities of places in the Scriptures, which had been supposed to be long since settled; because it is manifest that, if the learned too easily acquiesce in novelties on this subject, not only are the majority of our present maps useless for Scriptural references in general,

but doubts are thus spread over the whole surface of the geography, which are in themselves highly unsatisfactory, and have at least a tendency to shake belief on topics of superior, if not of supreme, importance.

CAMPAIGNS

OF

OSMAN SULTANS.

CHAPTER I.

BĀYEZYD ILDIRIM.

YEAR OF HIJRAH, OR HEJERET, 792. A.D. 1389.

Bāyezyd's conquests of Philadelphia, Karaman, Sivás, Kostamúni, Amasia, Janik, Timūrtash, the Beglerbeg; reduces other places of importance.—The Sultan prevented from besieging Constantinople by the news of Timūr Lenk's arrival in Asia.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of Asia Minor, as well as of the country on the opposite coast, had been subdued by Osman, and, under his successors Urchan, Murad, and Suleiman, had gradually become more and more subject to the Osmanlis, when Bāyezyd Ildirim, or the Lightning, ascended the throne, in the year 1389 of the Christian era, that is, in the 792d year of the Hijrah. Bāyezyd's first object, after having removed all apprehensions of a rival by the murder of his brother, was to conclude a peace with Servia. This he did by a treaty exceedingly advantageous to himself, in

which it was stipulated as a leading feature, that the reigning prince Stephen should furnish him with a quota of troops in all his wars, with the intention of making them and the troops of Manuel subservient to his plans of conquest. Accordingly, in less than two years, Bāyezyd required both these princes to send their respective contingents, and with them attacked the city of Alasheher (Philadelphia). The Greek commandant answered the summons of Manuel, who demanded the admission of a Turkish judge and officers into the place, by the laconic reply, that he was not disposed to betray the city to a barbarian.

1391. Conquest of Alasheher.

This answer so provoked Ildirim, that he surrounded the town, which had been hitherto attached to the Greek emperor, with Greek troops, commanded by the Byzantine princes John and Manuel in person. The Byzantine emperor and his son, to their lasting disgrace, were rewarded by Ildirim, to whom the trusty vassal would not surrender the place, for their services in the siege. A fact is on record which would be incredible, if it were not attested by the Greek historian, that they were the first to mount the breach in the storming of their own city, for the purpose of delivering it up to the barbarians. From the singular mode of its capture in this instance, Philadelphia is more remarkable than for its conquest on any former occasion, whether by the Seljukians, Byzantines, Crusaders, or Karamanians, from whom the Almogabari, under the conduct of Roger,* had in

* Pachymer. lib. v. c. 21.

vain endeavoured to rescue it. Its ancient name was Callatebus; and Herodotus, when describing the route of Xerxes, mentions it as being famous for its honey-cakes, a species of confectionary or sweetmeat now known by the name of halwa, and thought to be not at all inferior to that of Konia. The prince of Aidin, owing to whose support Alasheher had hitherto maintained itself as an isolated city, belonging to the Greek emperor, came to do homage to the conqueror: he not only made a formal surrender of the royal prerogatives throughout his whole territory, but also delivered up Ephesus, his former capital, and transferred his residence to Tiré (the old* Tyra), a place now famous for its carpets and calicoes. Together with the lands of Aidin, those of the princes of Ssaruchan and Menteshe were incorporated with the Osman territory. The princes themselves had begged an asylum from the superior force of Ildirim, the Lightning, at the court of the lame Bāyezyd, Kötürüm Bāyezyd, who gave them a kind reception; while Ildirim bestowed the newly conquered territories as a sandjak on his son Ertoghrul. In this way, out of the ten principalities into which the Seljukian kingdom had been divided, seven were already swallowed up by the insatiable ambition of the Osmanlis, whose power, every day spreading wider and wider, was now resisted only in the north and south of Asia Minor; in the

* Hammer here means by the word 'old,' "of the middle ages;" for he refers to Mannert, vol. vi. p. 371, whose expression is just quoted.

north by the sovereign of Kostamúni, and in the south by the prince of Karaman. Ever since the peace renewed by Urchan with this latter, a friendly intercourse had subsisted between him and the Osman princes; but now complaints were lodged against him by the vassal of Hamid, which afforded Bāyezyd a pretext for invading his territories. He had, therefore, no sooner subdued Kermian and Tekké, of which he appointed Ferus-beg the sandjak, than he advanced against Karaman, whose prince, Alaeddin, took refuge in the fastnesses of Itshil. Bāyezyd laid siege to Konia, as his father Murad had done, shewing the same consideration for the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and enforcing the same strict discipline among his soldiers, which occasioned great dissatisfaction amongst his Servian auxiliaries. But the inhabitants of the city were led by this prudent measure to bring in their grain voluntarily to the Osman camp; and when, upon being paid for it, they were safely conducted back again by Bāyezyd's order, this treatment induced the Karamanian cities of Aksheher, Nikde, and Akserai, to a voluntary surrender; and the administration of them was given to the Beglerbeg Timūrtash. The prince of Karaman, in order not to be dispossessed of his entire dominions, was willing to sacrifice part of them; and peace was concluded on the condition, that the river Cheharshenbe should be the future boundary between the Osman and Karamanian territories. This was, however, only a temporary respite; for Alaeddin, having, in the

Conquest of Karaman.

following year, taken advantage of Bāyezyd's absence in Hungary to renew the war, and even succeeded in taking Timūrtash the Beglerbeg, prisoner, the sultan, upon his return to Asia, advanced against him in person, defeated him on the plain of Akchai,* and left him to the disposal of his personal enemy Timūrtash, who ordered him to be put to death. In consequence of this victory all the remaining cities of Karamania fell into the conqueror's hands; and thenceforth the whole country became incorporated with the Osman empire.

Bāyezyd, being thus left at leisure to extend his conquests towards the east and north, marched directly against Kasi Burhaneddin, who reigned over all the territory between Sivás (Sebaste) and Kaissarije (Cæsarea Mazaca). At the approach of Bāyezyd, he withdrew into the mountains of Charpurt, where, however, he was assailed, defeated, and killed by Kara Osman, otherwise called Kara Juluk, the lord of the new dynasty of Bajender, or the white sheep. Bāyezyd, glad to have found an ally in the prince of the dynasty of the white sheep, whose arm opposed the enemies of the Osmanlis, would at first willingly have entrusted to Burhaneddin's son, Seinol-aabidin, his father's kingdom; but as the aristocracy of the country thought it now prudent to send the young prince to Nassireddinbeg, his father-in-law, the prince of the neighbouring dynasty of Sulkadr, and to invite

Conquest of the states of Kasi Burhaneddin.

* A small place N. of the Great Mendere, and S. of M. *Messogis* (Kestané Dagh,) the Atsha of Leake, and the Ak-chay of Arundell.

Year of H. 795. A.D. 1392.

Bāyezyd to take possession of the land; he accepted the invitation, and lost no time in occupying Sívás, Tokát, and Kaissarije.

Conquest of the district of Janik, Kostamúni, and Amasia.

To the north-west of this part of the ancient Capadocia lies the modern district of Kostamúni, which entirely comprises the ancient Paphlagonia. Here, for sometime after the overthrow of the Seljukian kingdom, the last branch of it had carried on an inglorious system of piracy; and the sons of Isfendiar had reigned jointly with him, or as his immediate successors. From them Kötürüm Bāyezyd, or the lame Bāyezyd, having wrested the throne, actually now filled it; upon which, however, he could not maintain himself against Ildirim Bāyezyd. The principal cities of the district of Kostamúni, Ssamssun, Janik, and Osmanjik, together with the rich copper mines, fell into the conqueror's hands. Kötürüm Bāyezyd saved himself by flying to Sinope, the most distant fortress and harbour of his dominions; whence he treated with the conqueror, who granted to him the city of Sinope, with its jurisdiction, but required the sons of the princes of Aidin and Menteshe to be delivered up to him; they fled, however, to the court of Timūr, whither soon after Isfendiar himself withdrew. Kostamúni was converted into a principality, and assigned to the Prince Suleiman. This country, the most mountainous of the Osman empire, possesses many advantages, as well natural as artificial. Kostamúni, its capital, remarkable for its numerous mosques, formerly supplied a large quantity of copper utensils from the produce of the

neighbouring copper mines; but it has now no manufactory, though inhabited by twelve thousand Turkish, thirteen hundred Greek, and five hundred Armenian families. The city lies in a craggy defile, out of the middle of which rises a steep rock, with a high castle on its summit, formerly a strong fortress of the Comneni, and in later times of the Turkmans. Janik, the old site of the Tzani, whose name is still preserved in the modern name of the district, is famous for its rugged mountains, and the Turkmans dispersed all over in the hollows and fastnesses. Ssamssun, the old Amisus—first peopled by the Milesians when they were masters of Cappadocia, afterwards colonised by the Athenians; next governed by kings, most of whom contributed to its beauty and embellishment, especially Eupator and Mithridates; taken by Lucullus after a difficult siege, and then again recovered by Pharnaces; declared a free state by Julius Cæsar, and again subjected to a royal government by Antony; abused by the tyrant Strato; and by the favour of Augustus, after the battle of Actium, not only restored to independence, but constituted the mistress of all the cities in Pontus; at a later period one of the most considerable cities of the kingdom of the Comneni in Pontus, and at last transferred from the hands of the lame Bāyezyd to those of the Lightning (Ildirim)—has at present a population amounting to no more than two thousand souls, and is surrounded only by dilapidated walls.

East of Ssamssun stretches the plain of Pha-

naræa, which the Iris flows through; and further onwards that of Themiskyra, which, divided by the Thermodon, was the seat of the Amazons. Upon the Iris (now the Cheharshenbessuje), lies Amasia, whose name has been retained without change from the remotest period to the present day—a rare circumstance, when it is remembered that, during the lapse of so many hundred years, it passed into the hands of so many barbarians; being wrested from the Greeks by the Danish-mundche, from them by the Seljukians, from these last by the family of Isfendiar, and from the Isfendiars by the Osmans. It is a particular object of curiosity, from the ruins of the old royal fortress and the royal graves hewn out of the rocks, for the old aqueducts, and the palace of Isfendiar; and has obtained, from so many distinctions, the common appellation of the Baghdád of Rûm. Amasia, soon after the conquest of Ildirim, resisted for seven months all the forces of Timūr, who was compelled to raise the siege; and in later times, during the rebellions of Kara-jasiji and Karasaid, was the secure depôt of the property of the surrounding country. Of its numerous mosques the most remarkable is that of Bāyezyd, not the first, (the Lightning), but the second, surnamed the Pious. The sepulchres of two sheikhs, Pir Elias, and Abdurrahman Ben Hasan, are resorted to as places of pilgrimage by the superstitious; as that of the poet Mumin, a Vezir of Prince Ahmed, Viceroy of Baghdád, and especially that of the poetess Mihri, the Sappho of the Osmans, are held in fond vene-

ration by the lovers of poetry. Near Amisus and Amasia, and lying in a triangle with them, is Osmanjik, one of the principal towns of the newly conquered district Kostamúni, and conferred as a viceroyalty on Prince Suleiman. It is situated on the Kizil Irmak (the Halys), in a plain producing rich crops of corn, and yielding grapes in equal abundance. In front of the large bridge thrown across the river, resting on nineteen arches, and one of the handsomest in the kingdom, erected by Bāyezyd the second, stands the sepulchre of the holy Burhandede; and the town itself contains also the much more conspicuous one of the pious Kujun-baba, that is, the father of sheep.

The sultan, now thinking it important to besiege Constantinople, passed over to Europe, and humbled the Byzantine emperor in his capital, leaving his general Timūrtash to pursue his conquests in the northern and eastern parts of Asia. This latter soon took possession of Kanghri, or Gangra, the old residence of the Paphlagonian monarchs, and for four hundred years the capital of Paphlagonia, situated between the two rivers Shirinssu, that is, sweet water, and Ajissu, that is, bitter water, both which run into the Halys. All the following places fell into the conqueror's hands: Divrigi, two days' journey east of Sívás, inclosed upon the eastern side by the mountain Chichektaghi, that is, flower mountain (for that is the Turkish corruption of the original name Scædissus), and on the western side by the mount of Hasan, that is, Antitaurus, at the end of a valley formed by barren rocks, the old

Conquest of Kanghri, Divrigi, Derende, Behesni, Malatiah, and Kumach.

Nicopolis, the city of victory, which Pompey built on the spot where he defeated Mithridates for the first time; Derende, two days' journey south of Divrigi, the boundary towards the district of Malatíah, close upon a double-peaked mountain, out of which the river Aks-su, or white water, issues; the city Behesni, with the surrounding country of the same name, on the road from Meroesh (the old Germanicia), to Kaissarije (Cæsarea), with numerous gardens in the environs, watered by a little river; Malatíah, the old Melitene, not far from the Euphrates, lying upon the little river Deir-messih, which, with another river, Binarbashi (fountain-head), waters the singularly beautiful walk from Uspusi, famous for the great battle which was fought here between Justinian and Chosroes Nushirwan, and remarkable too as the birth-place of the first Arabian Cid, the hero Sid-albattal, and known as the capital and residence of the Danishmundche; and, lastly, the border fortress of Kumach, in whose name may be traced the old name of Gumathene, on the borders of the Euphrates, one of the strongest places in the Osman empire, and no less famous for the linen which it furnishes, than the neighbouring Erzenjan for its sheep, and Beybúrd for its beautiful women.

While the Beglerbeg Timūrtash was thus advancing his victorious banners to the very borders of the Euphrates, which had so long formed the natural boundary between the Romans and Persians, Bāyezyd had fallen like the lightning upon Greece, and fully accomplished all the designs for

which he visited that devoted country; while Manuel, the Byzantine emperor, was traversing Europe with vain attempts to awaken the sympathy and solicit the aid of Christendom, and was compelled to witness the humiliating spectacle of Turks settling themselves in the suburbs of Constantinople, and the establishment of Turkish mosques, and the administration of justice by imams and kadis, in the heart of his capital. Bāyezyd then returned to Asia, and spent a few years in the most infamous excesses at Brusa. From this sleep of effeminacy he was roused by an embassy from Timūr, whose name now filled the world. He expected to intimidate the Tatar monarch from any further progress by an insulting answer, and by the conquest of Ersenjan in Armenia; while he himself passed over to Adrianople, whence he sent a haughty requisition to Manuel's son and successor, John, then residing at Constantinople, the purport of which was, that he should retire from his capital and accept a viceroyalty in lieu of it; at the same time, denouncing vengeance by God and his great Prophet in case of non-compliance. The inhabitants, after having supplied their city with provisions for a new siege, did not forget that they were Christians in the answer which they returned, though it conveyed also a challenge: "Go and tell your master that we are in ourselves indeed powerless; we have no refuge, no one to whom we can have recourse, but to God. To him, therefore, we appeal; he knows how to help the weak, and to lay prostrate the proud.

Year of H. 803. A.D. 1400.

Now we defy you to do your worst." From this second siege, more remarkable for the violence of its threats than for their actual fulfilment, the Osman sultan was diverted by Timūr's conquest of Erzenjan, and his massacre at Sívás. These events imperiously demanded Bāyezyd's presence in Asia, where the inroads of the Tatar army, like the sea rolling in frightful commotion, menaced the eastern frontier of the Osman empire, and foreboded, with but too much truth, the utter annihilation of the sultan's power.

CHAPTER II.

BAYEZYD ILDIRIM, (CONTINUED.)

Timūr's Birth and Character—Comparison of him with Alexander—His Military Institutes—Devotedness of the Army to him—Invasion of Georgia—Capture of Van, Bághdád, Takrít, Roha, Ámid, Álenjek.—Occasion of War between Timūr and Bāyezyd—Bāyezyd's Treatment of the Tatar Embassy—Timūr's Massacre at Sívás—March to Haleb—Capture of Haleb, Hamah, Hems, Damascus—Timūr's second Visit to Bághdád—Scene of Destruction and Carnage—Timūr returns to Sívás—Proceeds to meet the Osman Sultan—Battle of Angúriah and its consequences.

TIMŪR, that is, Iron, was the name of the son of Teragay, as prophetic of his conquest of the world. Teragay's great-great-grandfather was Kerachar Nuyan, of the noble house of Berlās, the Amyr-ul-umera, that is, the Arch-prince, Vesír of Jagtay, the son of Jengyzkhan. In the very year in which Sultan Ebusaid Behaderkhan, the last great sovereign of the family of Jengyzkhan, sunk into the grave, and which also put a period to the existence of the great Mongol monarchy, Timūr first saw the light of the world, the conquest of which was the grand object of his life. Happy is it for mankind that, in the long course of their history, this same project of universal dominion, in which so many conquerors have indulged, has been realised

Y. of H. 736 A.D. 1335.

by so few, and by those few in so imperfect a manner, that the number of those who are styled conquerors of the world, and to whom that frightful title is applicable in its fullest extent, is limited to six or seven. The first of them, Sesostris, is so far removed from our view, and so shrouded in the shadows and darkness of history, that the Grecian mythology confounds him with Dionysius, and that of the orientals with the first Jem, or Iskender Sulkarnein; that is, Alexander the Two-horned. This distinguished title of Two-horned, expressive not only of the highest power, (the scriptural representation of it is the single horn,) but implying also dominion over two parts of the earth, and a continuance of that dominion during two centuries, has been bestowed by the oriental writers neither on the second Jem, that is, Dejoces, the founder of the Median empire; nor on Keichosrew, that is, Cyrus, the founder of the Persian; nor yet on the Grecian Iskender, who answers to Alexander the Great; though these several princes are expressly mentioned in oriental history as conquerors of the world. The historians of the middle ages, at least the Eastern writers, scarcely notice the name of Attila, and direct their attention only to the firebrand of desolation, which was thrown upon the world in the person of Jengyzkhan; and to the beacon of conquest, which blazed forth at the appearance of Timūr, and shot its blood-red light over the whole continent of Asia, from the Indus to the Euxine Sea. As the Egyptian, Sesostris, and the Persian, Cyrus, are wrapped up in the

dark uncertainty of tradition, compared with the Grecian, Alexander, whose glories are illustrated by the most polished writers of the Greeks, and who is the first person clearly recognised in history as a conqueror of the world, so Attila, and Jengyzkhan, the barbarian leaders of hordes of Kions and Mongols, are insignificant, when compared with the Tatar Timūr, who was no stranger to the eminent Persian literati of his age, and who had the talent, not only of overturning empires, but of becoming their founder; and who (to make use of a common Persian and Turkish expression,) was capable, not only of grasping—that is, of conquering, the world, but also of securing the firm possession of it; thus uniting in himself the qualifications of the man who was to be the founder of imperial dynasties, no less than of him whose aim was universal conquest. The mastery of the world, achieved by Attila and Alexander, expired with themselves; the dominions of Jengyzkhan were transmitted by inheritance to his four sons, who, with their posterity, reigned for two centuries in China, Transoxana, Persia, and Tatary; and Timūr's descendants, after having kept full possession of the kingdom left them by their father for one century only in Transoxana and Persia, maintained themselves in the sovereignty of India during three hundred years, almost down to our own times. A comparison has been instituted between Attila and Jengyzkhan, but it is very superficial, and obtains only in one point of view, namely, that the former founded the kingdom of the Huns,

and the latter that of the Mongols, upon popular superstition and credulity. The comparison of Timūr with Alexander the Great is not liable to this objection. Each of them flourished at a time when the literature of their respective countries was in the highest state of cultivation. We may compare them further in the duration and end of their career, in their humanity, in the extent of their conquests, in the bravery of the vanquished, and in their moderation and self-government. And the conclusion which we shall draw from the comparison will be this: that the Macedonian had a more cultivated intellect, and was less inhuman, than the Tatar, but must yield the palm to him as the conqueror of the world, and as the establisher of an universal empire; because Timūr's conquests not only comprised a larger extent of territory and nations, but also kept them closely united; because (with the exception of India) he had not merely to encounter, like Alexander, effeminate and weak nations, who yielded an easy victory, but was compelled to reduce to subjection people and kingdoms, who, wherever he turned his arms, were of warlike habits; and, lastly, because Timūr never suffered himself to be enervated by luxury, nor intoxicated by victory, but pursued during a long life the same course in which he first set out, with the same diligence, the same inflexible perseverance, and uniformly with the same successful result: a reason of which may be found in the circumstance of Alexander having been born to empire, the son of such a father as Philip was,

while Timūr was the son of a man little celebrated, and, having raised himself to the throne entirely by his own personal exertions, by the same exertions afterwards secured it, upon the ruin of so many others, for himself and his posterity.

Timūr, commonly Timūrlenk, that is, the lame Timūr, (which has been corrupted in European languages into Tamerlane,) did not naturally labour under this bodily infirmity, but was lamed by a wound, which he received at the siege of the capital of Sistan, immediately before his elevation to the throne. Otherwise, he was tall in stature, with a head peculiarly large, a wide open forehead, a beautiful white and red complexion, and with long white hair from the very hour of his birth, like Sam, the celebrated hero of Persian history. Both his ears were pierced, in which he wore two pearls of immense value as ear-rings. Of a severe and gloomy cast, he disliked all raillery and sport; but he had a still greater aversion to falsehood. This he so utterly detested, and so strict a lover was he of truth, that he constantly preferred an unwelcome truth to an agreeable falsehood; exhibiting, in this respect, a trait very different from Alexander, who stabbed his friend and companion in arms, Clitus, for the expression of an unpalatable truth, and ordered the philosopher, Antisthenes, to be put to death on no better foundation. He was unshaken in his resolves, when his plans were once formed; countermanding no order which he had once issued; never allowing himself to repent of, or to regret, any occurrence; never anticipating

Description of Timūr's person, manners, and victories.

the future, nor suffering it so to enter into his calculations as to reckon upon it. He had no fondness either for poets or for jesters. His companions were principally physicians and astronomers, and expounders of the law, whom he frequently commanded to debate in his presence; but he, above all, valued the society of sheikhs, whose reputation for sanctity, and whose benedictions materially smoothed and prepared the road of victory. He was a great lover of the game of chess, in which he was inferior to no one; and from the change of pieces in which game (the king's place with the castle) his favourite son was called Shahrūkh. His hours of reading were devoted to the histories of wars, and the lives of warriors and eminent men; so that books of this description were never discarded by him, either in the leisure afforded by peace, or amidst the bustle of a campaign. His learning was limited merely to reading and writing, but his memory was so retentive, that he never forgot any thing which he had once heard or read; notwithstanding which, however, he could speak only three languages, the Persian, the Turkish, and the Mongol; the Arabic he never understood. He so highly esteemed the Tora, that is, the code of laws framed by Jengyzkhan, as to prefer it before the law of Islam; and, therefore, the expounders of the law found it necessary to issue a Fetva, in which those persons are denounced as infidels who admit that any human laws are superior to the divine law. To the Tora of Jengyzkhan, Timūr added a complete supplement, by

attaching to it his own code of laws (the Tufukat), which comprises principally the regulations relative to the army, the precedence of the officers of the court and state, as well as those points of interior polity which concern the administration of justice and the finances. Equally a stranger to the philosophy of Antonine and the learned pedantry of Constantine, he exhibits in his institutes such lessons of the art of military government, and such a well-arranged system of polity, as were evidently matured by deep and sound reflection. They form an excellent model, which his two successors on the throne of India, Shah Baber, the founder of the Mongul empire, and Shah Ekber, the greatest of them, were proud to rival in the commentaries and institutes which they left behind them. The chief force of his art of government, as well as his tactics, lay in the admirable management of that intelligence of which he made himself perfectly master, by means of travellers under all sorts of disguises, and especially by means of dervishes; and that to such an extent, and so accurately, that he was always intimately acquainted with the strength and the designs of his enemies; being equally apprised of the occurrences and miscarriages of their court intrigues, and of their political schemes. Whatever information he could thus glean through his agents, with respect either to the power or the locality of foreign countries, he ordered to be carefully collected in registers, and delineated on maps, which were perpetually before his eyes. Nor do we read of any conqueror who

was more capable of attaching to himself the instruments of his ambition. The love and devotedness of the army to Timūr were so unbounded, that the men not only sacrificed their lives with pleasure, but, in case of necessity, they were content to part with that which is much more dearly prized by a rapacious soldiery—their plunder and their property. Their submission was so blind and thoughtless, that it would have cost him only an order of the day to be styled the prophet, instead of the monarch, of the Tatars. The wild and lawless excesses of his soldiery, consisting, as they did, of men collected from all quarters, and of all descriptions, he attempted to soften by introducing amongst them poets and scholars, musicians and Ssofis; crowds of whom were always retained in the army, and accompanied it in his Asiatic expeditions. Timūr's youth was passed in those exercises which are the best preparatives for war, such as hunting and predatory excursions. He was twenty-seven years old when he first rendered the most important services as an auxiliary to the Amyr Hussyn, the prince of the house of Jagtay, who, at that time a resident at Herat and Balkh, reigned over Khorasān and Maveralnaher, that is, the territory on both sides of the Oxus. Timūrtogluk Khan, the Lord of Tūrkestan, had ravaged the countries on both banks of the Oxus with a powerful force of the Getæ. For securing Hussyn on his throne against this Timūrtogluk Khan, Timūr was rewarded with the hand of the Amyr's sister, the princess Turkan-khan; but her

Y. of H. 763. A.D. 1361.

Y. of H. 765. A.D. 1363.

death, which took place four years afterwards, dissolved the ties of vassalage, as well as those of affinity; and Timūr openly declared war against Hussyn, the sovereign of Khorasān and Transoxana. A peace was concluded, but the war again broke out, the issue of which was the conquest of Balkh, and the death of Hussyn, who was murdered by the Amyrs. In this they only anticipated Timūr's orders; so that no further obstacle remained to his ascending the vacant throne. Out of eight princesses, whom the conqueror found in Hussyn's harem, he selected four for himself, though he espoused only two of them; he distributed the other four among the amyrs, his friends, relatives, and companions in arms. The citadel was plundered, and afterwards demolished, as well as the palace; the inhabitants were partly thrown into dungeons, and partly beheaded, the women and children distributed as slaves—the prelude of the great tragedy to be exhibited by his future conquests. The residence of Hussyn, which had been destroyed, being little suited to his taste, Timūr selected Samarkund for his court and followers. This place he strongly fortified, and embellished with palaces and gardens. The general diet of the Tatars (Kurultai), assembled in solemn council, invited the conqueror to take possession of the throne which was prostrate at his feet. The Sheik Bereket, who first announced to him his elevation to the imperial dignity, arrayed him in royal robes, accompanying them with all the insignia of sovereignty, amidst the beating of drums and with

Y. of H. 768. A.D. 1366.

Y. of H. 771. A.D. 1369.

colours waving in the air, and added to his name Timūr (iron, which his father had given him for his strength) that of the Great Wolf (Gurgan), the Lord of the Age (Ssahib Kiran), and Conqueror of the World (Jehangyr),—four names which were proved to be selected with the happiest foresight; for he fulfilled, in the completest and most literal sense during the thirty-six years of his reign, the character attached to them. The motto of his seal was, "In righteousness is security." These thirty-six years were almost one unbroken series of victories and conquests, which permitted him to visit his native country beyond the Oxus, and his residence, Samarkund or Bokhārā, only nine times; and these visits were of very short duration, and undertaken entirely to recruit his army, and to meditate fresh enterprises. He united in his own person the crowns of twenty-seven countries, which belonged to nine dynasties, the decision of whose fate depended on him by right of conquest. These were, 1. The dynasty of Chagtai, upon whose throne he was seated after Hussyn's death; 2. The dynasty of the Jetes, or Getæ, in Tūrkestān and Mugholistan; 3. The dynasty of the sovereigns of Khuarizm; 4. That of the sovereigns of Khorasān; 5. The Tatar dynasty in Tataristan and Desht Kipchak; 6. The dynasty of the sons of Mosaffer in Persian Irak; 7. The dynasty of the Ilchans in Arabian Irak; 8. That of the sovereign of Hindūstan; and, 9. That of the Osmans. He carried his arms eastward to the wall of China, and northward to the very heart of

the Russian empire; in the west to the banks of the Mediterranean, and in the south to the frontiers of Egypt; lording it over the world by his sword with the irresistible fury of a wolf, in the age which gave him birth. Some of these kingdoms fell into the victor's hands in a single battle; though most of them were not subdued till after the tedious and laborious campaigns of many years.

For instance, his expeditions against the Jetes were seven, and those against Khuarizm five in number. He twice made war upon the sovereigns of Tatary; the first time upon Urus, the second time upon Tokatmish. Hindūstan, indeed, submitted in a single campaign; but the three wars in Hither Asia occupied Timūr in all fifteen years—the first war continued three years, the second five years, and the third and last, which sealed the fate of Bāyezyd, being of full seven years' duration.

But omitting most of these conquests on the eastern side of Persia, as irrelevant to our present purpose, we shall briefly notice such as appear at all leading to Timūr's rupture with the Osman sultan. When Timūr received, in the plains of Karabagh, the homage of the Prince of Georgia, who insured to himself the possession of his principality by a renunciation of the Christian faith, and the still more flattering prostrations of the Prince of Shirvan, the petty sovereigns of Gilan also, who had hitherto considered themselves perfectly secured from foreign inroads by the natural defences of the country, voluntarily submitted to the con-

queror. The Tatar monarch then demanded, by his ambassadors, tokens of subjection and deference from the sovereigns of Armenia and Mesopotamia. At that time the dynasty of the black sheep exercised the sovereignty at Diarbeker in Mesopotamia, and Prince Taherten at Erzenjan in Armenia. The resistance of the former was chastised by the devastation of the plain of Mush, which was followed by the occupation of the towns of Akhlat and Aadáljüwás, and afterwards by that of Van. This remarkable fortress, which had surrendered to no conqueror before Timūr, was stormed on the twentieth day from the commencement of the siege, though not till after a most obstinate resistance; and the brave defenders were rewarded for their valour by being dashed from the top of the walls to the ground below, with their necks and arms tied together. Upon this the works were demolished: they were so firm, that tradition assigns their building to Shedad, the son of Aad. A whole tuman, that is, ten thousand men, laboured one whole day to no purpose before they could blow up the masses of rock. The fall of Van hastened the submission of Taherten, who was thereupon put in possession of the jurisdiction of Erzenjan by a formal diploma from Timūr to hold it by feudal tenure as his vassal.

Conquest of Baghdád, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan.

Five years after these transactions, which took place in the year 1386, Timūr advanced from Samarkund to Kurdistan, and through it towards Baghdád, the residence of Ahmed Jelayr, the prince of the dynasty of Ilchan. At Akbulak, not far

from Arbela (Evril), where Alexander decided the fate of the Persian empire, an ambassador of Ahmed Jelayr appeared; whom, however, Timūr dismissed with an indefinite answer, and followed closely with his army, in the hope of surprising the sultan in his residence.

Scarcely had the enemy gained time to break down the bridge over the Tigris, and sink the boats, when the army of the Tatar prince presented itself before the walls of Baghdád, which they took without opposition.

The sultan's galley, called the Sun, was broken up, the cavalry swam across the Tigris; Timūr, at the head of his best cavalry, followed the sultan, flying towards the Euphrates. He reached him on the plain of Kerbela, but accompanied only by forty-five Tatarian amyrs, the only persons in the army whose excellent horses enabled them to keep pace with him. Three times they renewed the combat with the sultan's superior force, who was, however, defeated, and, though he escaped himself, was compelled to leave his wife and son behind. The literati and artificers of Baghdád were removed to Samarkund, and Timūr spent two months in the conquered city, conniving so little at any debauchery in his army, that he ordered all the wine found in the place to be thrown into the Tigris. The fortified towns in Mesopotamia were afterwards reduced, but they offered a much more determined resistance than Baghdád. Takrít, which was supposed to be impregnable; Roha, or Edessa, built by Nimrod; and, lastly, Hossn-Keif

and Mardin, which belonged to their own peculiar princes, the last to the sultan Isa, of the noble family of Ortak. It is accessible only on one side, and plentifully supplied with water by a spring; so that it remained unconquered even by Timūr himself, who accepted from the besieged the usual number of nine presents, and the promise of yearly tribute. Amid, the capital of Diarbeker, was conquered, plundered, and would have been razed to the ground; but the firmness of the walls, composed of solid rock, braved every attempt, and the assailants were obliged to content themselves merely with effecting a breach in the battlements of the walls.

Conquest of Armenia and Georgia.

The conquest of Armenia and Georgia followed close upon that of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. The campaign opened with the taking of Alenjek, whose prince, Kara Jusuf, the prince of the dynasty of the black sheep, fled at the first intelligence of Timūr's approach. On the plain of Akhbat, the old residence of the Turkman princes, Timūr received the homage of the Prince of Aadaljüwas, and that of Taherten, Prince of Erzenjan, as liege vassals. To the latter, who with reason apprehended the loss of his state from the neighbourhood of the Osmanlis, Erzenjan was secured as an independent principality; on which occasion an honorary diploma was made out in characters of vermilion, and a crown set with pearls was bestowed on him. Upon the heights of Mingöl, or Bingöl—*i. e.* the thousand lakes, the point whence the sources of many rivers issue, and amongst

others that of the Euphrates—the birth of Prince Ibrahim, the second son of Shahrukh, and the victory of the army in Georgia, were celebrated by a splendid fête, which the Tatar conqueror honoured with his personal presence, and the continuance of which for three weeks made the soldiers forget awhile the fatigues of war.

It was not till four years after these occurrences, that the death of Kasi Burhaneddin, the sovereign of Sivás, added to that of Barkok, the sultan of Egypt, caused the third Persian war to be undertaken by Timūr. This war continued seven years, and was the occasion of fresh conquests in the west of Asia, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria. In what manner the deaths of these sovereigns led to hostilities between Bāyezyd and Timūr will be related after a short notice of the Tatar emperor's campaign in Georgia, whither he was called by the revolt of Melek Gurgin, the prince of that country, which had been conquered in the year 1394.

Encamped on the extensive and beautiful plain of Karabagh, Timūr, in a council of war, declared his intention of marching against Melik Gurgin. Here, too, he received the homage of the Prince of Shirvan, Sheikh Ibrahim, son of Sidi Ahmed of Sheki, whom he dismissed with honorary dresses; but Taherten, the lord of Erzenjan, who brought nine times nine presents, touching the ground nine times with his forehead, was formally honoured with a horse-tail, and two kettle drums, as Prince of Erzenjan. Melek Gurgin refused to deliver up,

as Timūr had required, the son of Ahmed Jelayr, the sovereign of Baghdád, who had fled to him, imagining himself secure in his mountain fastnesses. But the Georgians were surprised and defeated. Fifteen of their castles, together with Teflis the capital, fell into the conqueror's hands, who, upon his return from thence to Baghdád, where treason meanwhile had opened an introduction to him, conquered seven other fortified places, razed the walls, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Ahmed Jelayr, the Ilchan—who upon being driven from Baghdád by Timūr, had found an asylum with Barkok, the sultan of Egypt—had, during Timūr's Indian expedition, returned to his residence and re-established his power; and had not only sheltered at his court the prince of the Turkmans of the black sheep, the black Jusuf, who had been driven by Timūr from the territory of Diarbeker, but had also afforded the same asylum to Shervan, the governor of Kuhistan, who had rebelled against Timūr's authority. This man, whether it was that his rebellion against Timūr was only a mask to cover his real designs, or whether he wished to conciliate the Tatar monarch, or to found an independent principality for himself, bribed the Amyrs of Ilchan with various sums of money, from ten to three hundred thousand ducats. The list of those who received these bribes, at the head of which stood the name of the old dowager Wefa Chatun, the stepmother of Ilchan, fell into Ilchan's hand from the carelessness of Shervan's secretary. Ilchan immediately

Failure of Conspiracy at Baghdád.

commanded Shervan's head to be struck off, as well as the heads of two thousand of his officers, who had actually received bribes, or were suspected of having done so; and the old woman was put to death by being suffocated with bolsters. He himself, with his own hand, put to death many women of the harem and officers of the palace, who were thrown into the Tigris; he then closed the gates of the seraglio, and privately withdrew, accompanied by only six attendants, to the neighbouring territory of Kara Jusuf. In a short time he returned back again to Baghdád with Kara Jusuf, to whom he had promised the plunder of his own residence; but when Timūr marched from Georgia to Sivás to revenge Burhaneddin's death, not upon the murderer, his vassal, but upon the inhabitants of the city, with every circumstance of atrocious cruelty, then Ahmed Jelayr, the Ilchan, as well as Kara Jusuf, the Turkman, fled first to Syria; and as Timūrtash, the viceroy of the Egyptian sultan at Haleb, forcibly hindered their farther flight towards Egypt, they both withdrew to the court of Sultan Ildirim Bāyezyd. The protection granted to the emigrant princes, and the previous complaints of Taherten with respect to the seizure of the territory of Erzenjan by the Osmanlis, the investiture of which had been granted him by Timūr, were the occasion of the war between Timūr, surnamed Gurgan, the Great Wolf, and Bāyezyd Ildirim, the Lightning.

Ahmed Burhaneddin was the judge of the prince of Kaissarije, after whose death he and the Reigning Family of Sivás.

Amyrs divided among themselves their former master's possessions; so that the sovereignty of Tokat fell to the lot of Haji Geldi, that of Amasia to the Sheik Mejik, while the judge Burhaneddin took the sovereignty of Sivás. Ahmed Burhaneddin, and afterwards his son Ebul-Abbas, offended on account of the reception given by Bāyezyd to the sons of the dethroned princes of Kermian and Menteshe, had a less powerful, but no less dangerous enemy in Kara Juluk, the Turkman of the tribe of the white sheep, who afterwards became the founder of the dynasty of that name. He was joined, indeed, by the ties of relationship to Kara Jusuf, the prince of the dynasty of the black sheep; but the stronger bonds of his own interest attached him to Timūr, whom he went to meet upon his very first arrival in Hither Asia, and whom he served as a guide in his expeditions. To further the views of the conqueror, no less than his own, he entered upon hostilities, not only with his relative Kara Jusuf, but also with the Egyptian princes; and, lastly, with Ebul-Abbas Burhaneddin, the lord of Sivás, whom he took prisoner and put to death. The inhabitants of Sivás threw themselves under the protection of Bāyezyd, who sent them his son Suleiman, with five Amyrs, and hereupon occupied the neighbouring city of Erzenjan, belonging to prince Taherten. After his campaign in Georgia, Timūr was spending the summer in the beautiful plains of Karabagh, meditating further conquests in the west and south. The princes whom Bāyezyd had stripped of their territories had escaped

from the confinement in which he held them, and had sought protection and refuge in the camp of Timūr. The prince of Kermian had escaped out of his dungeon at Ipsala under the disguise of an ape-driver; and that of Menteshe was indebted for his safety to his long hair, by which he rendered his person incognito. The prince of Aidin had made his way through as a rope-dancer. All these brought complaints of the destruction of their territories; and to them Taherten added moreover the loss of his treasure and harem, of which Bāyezyd had made himself master. Timūr sent an embassy with letters of defiance to Bāyezyd, and the enraged sultan would have put the ambassador to death, if the great Sheikh Bokhari, and the great expounder of the law, Fenari, had not brought to recollection the fundamental principles of the rights of ambassadors in the east, that an embassy is inviolable. At their interposition Bāyezyd was so far softened as to change his first bloody resolution; but his conduct towards the ambassador was highly ungracious, and an answer was returned studiously offensive. Timūr at receiving it fell into a violent passion, ordered the standards to be hoisted, and, on the first day of the 803d year of the Hijrah, set forward on his march to Sivás, the territory of the Osmanlis.

Timūr's barbarity at the taking of Sivás.

Sivás, entirely rebuilt by Alaeddin, the great prince of the Seljukians, the ancient Sebaste, fortified with high walls, formed of square stones, and with trenches, was not only one of the strongest, but also one of the most populous cities of Asia

Minor, its inhabitants amounting to more than one hundred thousand. The square stones of the walls were three yards in thickness, and one in length; the rampart, twenty yards in height, was in the lower part ten yards broad, and in the upper part six yards; the seven gates of the city turned upon iron hinges. To these artificial advantages the spirit and courage of its defenders were admirably proportioned; but the violence of the assault and the cruelty of the conqueror were no less so. The frightful horrors of its destruction far surpass in atrocity every thing which history records of the fall of other cities, of whose ruin even Timūr and Jengizkhan were the instruments; the walls of other cities were razed to their foundations, and their inhabitants for the most part massacred or transported to foreign countries; but no where does murder bear the stamp of such exquisitely barbarous cruelty, as in the Tatarian conquest of Sebaste. As it was surrounded on three sides by a moat, it was assailable only on the western side by mounds and mines. Eight thousand sappers and miners dug under the foundation of the walls, which were supported with wooden piles and palisades driven into the ground. When the foundation was thus undermined, the wood-work was set on fire, and the walls and towers fell with one sudden crash together. After a siege of eighteen days the inhabitants begged for mercy, and Timūr granted it, but merely to the Moslems; the Christians, especially the Armenian cavalry, of whom four thousand had stood out so courageously in

the defence of the place, were, by the terms of the capitulation, to be forfeited as slaves. These he distributed among his army, with orders that they should be buried alive. Still more novel and atrocious than the manner of the death of the victims was the studied nature of their tortures. The heads of the sufferers were bound between their legs, and, in order that the agonies of death might be protracted to the longest period possible, the graves, into which they were rolled by tens and tens together, like hedgehogs collected into a round ball, were not immediately filled with earth, but covered over with boards; the earth was then piled upon the graves, and the wretched occupants of them were thus compelled to linger on, in despair, to death in these graves of torture. As the conqueror commanded all the most courageous of the inhabitants to be slaughtered, he extended the same command to all leprous persons, in order that the survivors might be neither infected with the malady of the one, nor roused by the bravery of the other; women and children were spared as little as the infirmities of grey hairs and the vigour of manhood. Ertoghrul, the son of Bāyezyd, became, with the garrison, the prisoner of Timūr, who carried him about with him in triumph for some days, and then gave orders for his execution. The fall of Sebaste protracted that of Constantinople, from whose siege this frightful intelligence called the Osman Sultan, and afforded yet some breathing time to Paleologus within the walls of his empire, which was now limited to the capital.

Bāyezyd passed over to Asia, a prey to fury and to anguish, at the destruction of the strongest of his cities, and the loss of the bravest of his sons. As he heard on the road a shepherd playing on his pipe, which he alternately accompanied with a song, he is said to have cried out, "Sing me the song, Thou shalt not lose Sívás, thou shalt not lose thy son!"

Before the Lightning (Ildirim) had yet approached the eastern frontier of his empire, the desolating tempest of the Tatarian conqueror of the world had thundered already far towards the south. Though he had to revenge upon Bāyezyd the insult and imprisonment of his ambassador, he had to chastise a still greater violation of the rights of ambassadors in the sultan of Egypt. The sultan's father, Berkuk, had ordered the ambassador already above mentioned, the learned Sheikh Sawe, to be put to death, instead of returning any answer; and Ferruj, the then sultan, even still kept in close confinement the viceroy of Awenik Otlamish Kuchin, one of Timūr's best generals, who had been taken prisoner in a skirmish before Awenik by Kara Jusuf, the Turkman of the black sheep, and had been sent as a present to the sultan. A second embassy which Timūr sent, both to demand satisfaction for the affront offered to the first, and for the setting his general at liberty, was, upon reaching Haleb, the border fortress of the sultan, treated with such contempt that the persons who composed it were immediately put into irons. Upon his march thither, Timūr took

Timūr's march towards Syria.

by storm Malatiah on the day on which he appeared before the walls; and Behesna also, notwithstanding its castle built on a steep rock, after a short defence. He passed by Kalaater-Rûm, not indeed untouched, but unconquered, and pushed forwards to the gates of Aintab, which were opened to him without opposition. In front of Haleb he came to an engagement with the Egyptian army, composed of recruits from all the cities of Asia. The battle terminated in the defeat of the Egyptian forces. Timūr, in the centre of his army, issued his orders, protected by a range of elephants of enormous height, from whose backs the bowmen and artillerymen discharged arrows and threw Greek fire. At the beginning of the engagement, the elephants kept their trunks quiet and peaceable enough; but when they came to close fight, they mingled in it, threw the enemy in the air with their trunks, and trampled them under foot. The pressure of the besieged to the gates of the city rendered the most horrid slaughter an easy matter to the victors; whole ranks of the fugitives, in precipitate confusion, threw themselves over one another into the trenches, which were filled up to the very brink with bodies; javelins, at a single throw, pierced through several bodies at once, as they were thus jammed tightly together; and the corpses of the slain afforded an entrance, like a bridge, to the conquerors, who pressed forward into the city. The havoc was universal. Neither public nor private buildings were spared; neither age nor youth found pity. The castle surrendered

Year of Hijrah 803. A.D. 1400.

after the plundering of the city, and Timūr remained in it two days to enjoy the sight of that desolation which every where met his eyes. He then sent the son of the Egyptian viceroy, whom he had taken prisoner in the castle, to his master the sultan, to propose to him the exchange of Otlamish for that of Timūrtash and Shadun, the Egyptian generals, who had been taken prisoners. After Haleb fell Hamah, Hems, and other Syrian fortresses; and Timūr pushed forward to Baalbec, that is, Heliopolis, which was not then in ruins, but a populous city, surrounded by well-walled suburbs, and from which the army drew supplies of provisions and other necessaries for a long time. At the march beyond Baalbec, the magnificent architecture of whose temple Timūr would contemplate only as the work of genii and demons, he visited the pretended tomb of Noah, and thence advanced straight to Damascus, the residence of the Egyptian sultan. The sultan had sent an ambassador to Timūr, habited as a dervish. He was accompanied by two young people, whose exterior raised suspicions of treachery in the mind of the secretary of state. Their persons were accordingly searched, and poisoned daggers found in their boots. Upon examination, they confessed that they were sent by the Sultan of Egypt to assassinate Timūr, which they were to have taken an opportunity of doing at the audience granted to the ambassador. The dervish ambassador was stabbed with the very daggers intended for Timūr; but his two accomplices escaped with only the cutting off of their

ears and noses, because they were to be the bearers of Timūr's ultimatum, in which he demanded, as an equivalent for granting peace to the sultan, the recognition of himself as sovereign lord in the exercise of the especial prerogatives of royalty. One of the amyrs of Timūr, however, conveyed this proposal, which was answered by a second ambassador from the sultan, bringing a promise that Otlamish should be released. The decisive battle was lost by the sultan, under the walls of Damascus; and among the prisoners was found Timūr's nephew, by his sister's side, Hussyn Musa, who had formerly gone over to the enemy with some traitors. Though Timūr was otherwise so cruel, yet he was forbearing towards the members of his own family, and merely punished the prince's treachery according to the law of Jengyzkhan, by administering the bastinado. The peaceable surrender of the city was insured to the inhabitants at the price of a forced contribution of a million of ducats; for the levying of which sum seven of the eight gates of the city were closed, and only the eighth remained open, at which the receivers of this forced price of redemption were stationed. The citadel surrendered, while the trenches were drained of water, and fire was laid under the wooden scaffolding of the walls, which had been undermined: the commander of the garrison was put to death even after the surrender, because he had not sooner capitulated. The garrison was divided among the amyrs of Timūr, and the artificers and literati were sent

Year of Hijrah 803. A.D. 1401.

to Samarkund. Immediate orders were given for constructing a dome over the graves of the two holy women, the wives of the prophets; and with such promptitude were these orders obeyed, that a magnificent dome was completed in twenty-five days. But Timūr took umbrage at the inhabitants, that they had endured for eight hundred years to see the graves of the prophets' wives overrun with frightful rubbish, without building a cupola over them, and expressed himself in strong terms upon the subject to his privy council. This holy indignation had a striking influence on the members of the council, and still more upon the army. The latter made it a pretext for a general assault.

Burning of Damascus.

They rushed violently into the city; and, in spite of the forced exaction which had been paid, ravaged it with fire and sword. Though pains were taken to extinguish the fire at first, yet it spread so fast from the circumstance of the upper part of all the houses at Damascus being composed chiefly of timber, that the whole city was one continued blaze of fire, communicating on all sides to the perfumed cedar and cypress-wood, with which the apartments were wainscoted, and the orpiment and sumach with which they were varnished. Timūr encamped after the conflagration on the beautiful plain of Ghuta, and passed on beyond Hamah, which the army, having forborne to plunder before, now stripped of every thing, towards Mardin; where the lords of the fortress of Hossn-Keif, and of the city of Erzen, did homage, by

kissing the ground, and were presented by the conqueror with a golden caftan, girdle, and sword with golden hilt.

Isa Taher, the chief of the family of Ortok, who already in the last Persian campaign had confidently depended upon the extraordinary security of his residence, Mardin, with the happiest consequence, answered the laconic summons of Timūr in the same style, and enjoyed the triumph of seeing him pass by his rocky walls on towards Baghdád. Here Ferruj, the viceroy of Ahmed Jelayr, the Ilchan, defended himself with the most inflexible obstinacy. The siege was one of the hottest on record; not only from the fury of the assault, and the vigour of the defence, but also from the intense heat of the sun, which raged in the middle of August with the burning glow of the hot climate of Arabia. On one of the hottest days, —when the garrison, unable to maintain themselves on the burning walls, had planted upon them only their helmets on the top of sticks, and sought coolness and refreshment in casements and cellars,— orders were issued for a general storming; and the standard of the horse-tail surmounted with the new moon was planted on the walls by the Amyr Sheik Nureddin. Ferruj and his daughter, who had fled to the Tigris, were overtaken; they threw themselves into the river, where they were drowned: their corspes were intercepted, and thrown upon the bank. Then commenced a tragic scene of devastation and massacre, by which Timūr the Tatar far outdid the Mongol Húlaku, the destroyer

Destruction of Baghdád.

of the Chalifate, the former conqueror of Baghdád; and the city of Peace became a place of ruin. From the universal destruction of the buildings, only the mosques, schools, colleges, and hospitals were exempted; and of all the inhabitants only the imams, the judges, and professors, were excepted from the bloody order for a general massacre. Not a single individual was to be allowed to escape with life; neither the child of eight years old, nor the grey hairs of eighty. Every man of the army, which was ninety thousand strong, was required to deliver in a head, as the terms upon which he would be suffered to keep his own; ninety thousand persons fell, and the heads were piled up in layers in front of the towers of the city, as a monument of the barbarous victory of the Conqueror of the World.

Timūr afterwards encamped with his army at Nachshiwan, reconnoitred the castle Alenjek, which lay in its neighbourhood, which, having revolted in the Syrian campaign, was a second time dismantled; received an apologising and submissive embassy of the viceroy of Georgia, Melek Gurgin; and passed on beyond Genje and Berdaa, to establish his winter quarters in the beautiful plain of Karabagh. When he broke up from this latter place, and advanced forward from Kumach to Sívás, an embassy met him from Bāyezyd with letters couched in the most insolent terms, at once personally offensive and pointedly negligent in all the usual forms of ceremony. The ill-judged niggardliness, too, of Bāyezyd, rendered him deaf to

all the entreaties of his officers, who pressed him by a timely distribution of money to raise the spirits of his troops, whose irregular pay and long arrears made them discontented. Such was his parsimony, that one of his generals remarked that his money already bore on it the impression of Timūr, for he could not trust himself to distribute it among the soldiers. In this state he advanced with a hundred and twenty thousand men against the Tatar conqueror, whose army amounted to a number seven times superior to his own.

March of Bayezyd and Timūr towards Angùriah.

When Timūr heard at Sívás that Bāyeyzd was with his army at Tokát, whither the road from Sívás leads through thick forests, he turned southward towards Kaissarije, and then again northwest towards Kirsheher and Angùriah. He was engaged six days in marching from Sívás to Kaissarije, three from hence to Kirsheher, along the river Injessu, and three more in the march from Kirsheher to Angùriah. Jakub the Osman, commandant of the city, answered Timūr's summons to surrender as became a brave soldier. Timūr divided the water of the little river of Chibükabad, which supplied the inhabitants, and began to undermine the walls, when he received the intelligence that Bāyezyd was only three hours distant at the head of his army. He immediately raised the siege, and encamped on the other side of the little river, so that he had it in the rear, securing his camp with moats and palisades. Bāyezyd, courageous even to infatuation, in order to shew how little he regarded the power of Timūr, moved his camp further north,

and took up a position on the highland country, which was destitute of water. His soldiers fainted from heat and want of water; and five thousand perished from mere thirst on their march. Three days after, when he would have re-occupied the site of his old encampment, he found it not only beset by the Tatarian army, but also the only spring from which his men could be supplied with water in that part wasted and spoiled by Timūr's soldiers, who were sent thither in the night on purpose. North-east of Angùriah, in the plain of Chibükabad, that is, the Reed-building, in the very same field where Pompeius had defeated Mithridates, at the foot of the mountain, both armies drew up in order of battle,—two armies, whose numbers collectively on both sides amounted to not much less than a million of men, and which were not only led on by Timūr the Great Wolf and Bāyezyd the Lightning-flash themselves in person, but whose respective subdivisions were commanded also by the princes their sons and grandsons, having under them the bravest generals of Asia and Europe.

Of Timūr's seven sons, two were yet minors. The eldest, Jehangyr, was long since dead; the remaining four, with five of Timūr's grandsons, in all nine princes of the blood-royal, commanded the divisions of the Tatarian army; while those of the enemy were led on by five of Bāyezyd's sons, the most renowned generals of the day serving under them. Prince Miranshah, the eldest surviving son of Timūr, with his own son, Prince

Ebubekr, as second in command, headed the right wing; the left was entrusted to two other of Timūr's sons, Shahrukh and Chalil, subordinate to whom was the grandson of Timūr on his daughter's side, Sháh Hussyn, who, after his bastinadoing at Damascus for treachery, had been again received into favour. Mirza Muhammed Sultan, the son of the deceased Jehangyr, was posted in the centre, as a mark of distinction. To his right, somewhat in advance, were forty colonels at the head of their regiments, and the same number on his left, with the standard of the blood-red horsetail surmounted by the new moon in gold carried before him, and having under his orders his uncle, Omar Sheikh, Timūr's son, attended by his sons, Mirza Pir Muhammed and Isfender. The body of reserve, composed of forty regiments, was headed by Timūr in person. Bāyezyd, on the side of the Osmanlis, gave the command of the right wing, consisting of the Asiatic troops, to his eldest son, Suleiman Sháh, the viceroy of Aidin, Ssaruchan, and Karasi; on the left wing were stationed the Servian troops, under the orders of Lazar, the son of Wulk, Bāyezyd's brother-in-law; the centre was occupied by Bāyezyd himself, accompanied by his three sons, Isa, Musa, and Mustafa, with ten thousand janissaries and asabes, commanded by the most intrepid generals, while his son Muhammed commanded the reserve. In the flank of Timūr were thirty-two elephants drawn up in line, which he had brought from India. The troops of the Tatarian vassals, who were the guards stationed on

the frontiers of the kingdom—as Ibrahim-shâh of Shirvan, Taherten of Erzenjan, Kara Osman Bajender of Diarbeker—were opposed to the Servian auxiliaries of the Osman left wing, which faced the enemy's right wing; so that in Timūr's Tatarian army, Turkmans, and in Bāyezyd's Osman army not only Tatars, but even Servians, were enlisted.

Battle of Angùriah.

About six o'clock in the morning the battle commenced, with the blast of Tatarian trumpets and the war-cry of "Sürüm!" on the one side, and on the other with the sound of the Turkish drums and the battle-shout "Allah!" Timūr, reminded by a dervish, dismounted to perform his devotions, and gave orders for the attack. Mirza Ebubekr, who led on the advance of the right wing under his father, took the Osmans in flank; but he was well received and kept in check by the Servians, who fought with the utmost determination. Mirza Muhammed Sultan, the commander of the centre, then presented himself on his knees before Timūr, and begged permission to hasten with a detachment to the relief of the troops who were exposed to such imminent danger. The European troops fought with the most singular gallantry and undaunted courage. But while the Servians on the left wing were performing prodigies of valour, the troops of Aidin on the right, who saw their former princes in the enemy's lines, gave way: they were followed by the divisions of Ssaruchan, Menteshe, Kermian, as well as by two Tatars, whom a private communication from Timūr had induced to desert. Already were the two Servians separated from

Bāyezyd, when Stephau, their gallant general, cut his way through the enemy with his cuirassiers, mowing down their ranks on all sides, and pressed his brother-in-law, the sultan, to save himself by a timely flight. When Timūr witnessed the heroism of these Servians, he could not forbear exclaiming, "These dervishes have nobly done their duty." Bāyezyd, with inflexible obstinacy, persisted in his resolution of maintaining the battle, and retired to an eminence with ten thousand janissaries. Stephau, seeing the battle lost, and the sultan in imminent danger, covered the retreat of his eldest son, Suleiman, who was with all possible haste hurried from the field westward towards the sea, by the Grand Vezír, Ali-páshá, accompanied by Hasan, the agha of the janissaries, and the Subashi Ainèbeg, while the amyrs of Amasia performed the same office to Prince Muhammed, and fled with him towards the range of mountains which lay eastward of the scene of action. The Sultan Bāyezyd, deserted by his household troops, by his vezírs and amyrs, by his páshás and sons, bravely maintained his post till night-fall during the whole heat of the day, on the eminence which he had occupied, defended by his janissaries, who, in addition to fatigue, were tortured and expiring from burning thirst. These ten thousand devoted followers of the sultan all fell in the field, the victims of thirst, or butchered by the Tatars. Just at night-fall, Bāyezyd yielded to the pressing instances of Minnet-beg, and attempted to save himself by flight; but his horse fell under him, and he was

Defeat of Bāyezyd.

Year of Hijrah 804. A.D.1402.

taken prisoner by Mahmud-khan, the descendant of Jengyzkhan, the titular chan of Jagtay. Together with Bāyezyd, his son Musa, his Amyr Minnet-beg, Mustafa-beg, Ali-beg, the chief of the eunuchs, Firus-beg, the governor of the harem, the Begler-beg Timūrtash, and his son Jachshi-beg, fell into Timūr's hands. The princes Suleiman, Muhammed, and Isa, had fled; the first in the direction of the sea westward, the second eastward towards Amasia, and the third had taken the road to Karaman on the south. Prince Mustafa had been killed on the field of battle, without the sultan's knowledge of the circumstance at the time, or any tidings whatever of him reaching Bāyezyd. According to the Byzantine historian, Ducas, Timūr was playing at chess with his son Shahrukh when Bāyezyd was conducted prisoner to his tent, and at the moment when the captive sultan made his appearance at the threshold of the tent, had just exchanged his king with the castle. This remarkable occurrence, taking place at the very time when the Sháh of the Osmans exchanged his throne for the castle as a prisoner, occasioned Timūr's son to be called ever afterwards by the name of Shahrukh. Be this as it may, Persian, Turkish, and Greek historians all agree in stating, that the first reception of the defeated and fallen sultan was on Timūr's part noble and magnanimous. When he saw Bāyezyd standing in his presence, exhausted by the heat of the day and of the battle, covered with dust and scorched by the sun, he accosted him in terms of kindness, ordered a seat

to be placed for him near his own person, and assigned him tents of state; assuring him, with solemn protestations, that he need entertain no apprehensions about his personal safety. At the request of Bāyezyd, that his sons, who were missing, might be looked for, and that he might be allowed that consolation which their society would naturally afford him, agents were sent in search of them; but they found only Prince Musa, whom they first clothed with a robe of honour, and then introduced to Timūr. Bāyezyd's confinement was of as honorary a nature as any custody could be; for the fallen sultan was entrusted to Hasan Berlās, one of the principal Tatarian amyrs, and one of the nearest relatives of Timūr, jointly with Chempair, who had been already before known to Bāyezyd as Timūr's ambassador.

If the importance of a battle ought to be estimated from the several different points of view in which it may be taken, as the great numerical force of the armies, the reputation and skill of the generals, the obstinacy with which it is contested, and the length of time spent in the struggle, together with the difficulty of the ground, the progress in military tactics, in the weapons used, and the arrangement of the troops, as well as from the consequences attending the victory or defeat, involving the destiny of generals and kings, campaigns and kingdoms, — then, considered in most of these points of view, the battle of Angùriah is assuredly one of the most important in the history of wars and nations. It was a battle in which Turks and

Tatars fought promiscuously side by side, as well as opposed to each other; and one in which the Tatars, for the last time in the capacity of conquerors, compelled the Turks to submission;—a battle, the result of which was, that the Osman empire, tottering on the very brink of destruction from the capture of its sovereign, appeared to be no longer formidable; a decisive battle, which put an end to Bāyezyd's career of victory, but at the same time also terminated the conquests of Timūr, who died about three years afterwards, without having undertaken any farther enterprise of magnitude, while he had projected and was actually setting out for the conquest of China. The generals were, Bāyezyd the Lightning, whose conquests, achieved with the rapidity of lightning, had gained him that appellation, and Timūr, the Great Wolf, who lorded it over the world with a rod of iron; and under them the princes their sons, the viceroys of their respective kingdoms, from the borders of Sina to the Bosphorus; a more numerous assemblage of commanders of imperial and royal blood, members of the same family, than history has left any where else on record. Timūr, with his six sons, governors, and viceroys, and his twelve grandsons serving under their fathers, stands alone in history as the peculiar conqueror and lord of the world, who retained, during a long life, with a firm and powerful grasp, that empire which he had occupied by violence. The people, who fought on this occasion with equal bravery on a burning summer's day, from morning

till nightfall, were not only Tatars, Persians, and Turks, but also Europeans, actually Christians (the Servians), and apostates and deserters from all nations (the Janissaries). In the history of the art of war, the battle is remarkable for the first uniforms ever worn, and the cuirassier regiments of the Tatars. The place, also, where the battle was fought is remarkable in more than one point of view. In the plain of Angùriah, and in sight of those very mountains to the north, where Bāyezyd's ancestors had received from the Seljukian sultans the first pasture-lands upon the highlands for the maintenance of their herds,—upon the plain where Pompey overthrew Mithradates,— the victorious Lightning, Ildirim, was defeated and carried off in triumph by Timūr the World-conquering Sword; so that his glory was totally extinguished, and expired, as it were, in convulsive throes.

CHAPTER III.

BĀYEZYD, (CONCLUDED.)

Taking and Burning of Brusa—Timūr's Quarters at Kutahiah—Nicæa razed to the Ground—Siege of Smyrna—Relentless Barbarity of Timūr—Death of Bāyezyd—State of the Osman Empire—Death of Timūr.

AFTER the battle of Angùriah, Mirsa Muhammed Sultan, the grandson of Timūr, by his eldest son, Jehangyr, at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, was despatched in pursuit of the fugitive Prince Suleiman, who had made the best of his way to Brusa, accompanied by the great officers of state; and the seizure of whose person was necessarily as great an object of the conqueror's solicitude as the capture of the treasures which were deposited there. Timūr himself, meantime, advanced with the main body of his forces to Kutahiah. So rapid was the movement of the Tatar prince, that he performed this great distance in five days; and out of thirty thousand cavalry, only four thousand could so far keep pace with him as to appear before the gates of Brusa. A still more powerful motive influenced the Osman prince, whose flight partook of even greater precipitation, and enabled him to reach the sea-coast before the arrival of his enemy. The plundering and burning of Brusa

Taking of Brusa.

was of the same stamp with all the other Tatar conquests. Schools and mosques were converted into stables; but especially the great mosque was profaned in the most brutal manner. The harem of Bāyezyd, that is, his wives and daughter, together with the princess, the daughter of Ahmed Jelayr, who had been betrothed to his son, Mustafa (the son who had disappeared in the battle of Angùriah), the captive princes of Karaman—all the treasures, consisting of gold and silver vessels, costly stuffs and dresses, as well as every article of value, which the hurried flight of Suleiman rendered it impossible for him to rescue,—fell into the Tatar's hands. After an inventory of the public treasure had been taken by Timūr's secretary, and its rich contents had been totally exhausted, the city was given up to universal plunder; and, as if this were too little for the rapacity of the conquerors, it was afterwards burnt to the ground. The clients of Bāyezyd, Ahmed Jelayr, the Ilchan, and Kara Jusuf, the Prince of the Black Sheep, had happily made good their escape in time, the former to Baghdád, the latter to Kaissarije; but the great sheikh, Muhammed Bochari, together with the two most eminent literati of Bāyezyd's time, the great lawyer, Shemseddin Fenari, and the great expounder of the Koran, Muhammed Jezerei, were taken on the road, and brought before the Amyr Nureddin (the prince's master of the household, and viceroy of Brusa), who ordered them to be released from their fetters, and despatched them, with every possible mark of distinction, to Ku-

tahiah, where Timūr had taken up his quarters. Jezerei stands at the head of all the learned expounders of the Koran; as Firusabadi, the author of the great Arabic dictionary called the Ocean (a work the most important of all Arabic vocabularies, and which was printed at the very same moment both at Constantinople and Calcutta), is the foremost of Arabic lexicographers. This man, a native of Persia, as his name implies, who, a short time before the breaking out of the war between Timūr and Bāyezyd, had paid a visit to the latter at Brusa, and now paid his respects to Timūr at Kutahiah, was cordially received by both, who made him the honourable proposal of fixing his residence at their respective courts. Upon his declining this honour, he was loaded with the most magnificent presents. Timūr received the three Osman literati with equal distinction, and gave them a no less pressing invitation to exchange their residence at Brusa for that of Samarkund, an invitation which was declined by Bochari and Fenari, but accepted by Jezerei, who was subsequently sent as ambassador to Egypt, and who afterwards, being promoted to the rank of Molla, both about the court and in ordinary, by Timur (whose death soon followed), was commissioned to recite the marriage contracts of the Tatar emperor's grandchildren, of both sexes, at the great festival which he gave on the celebration of the nuptials of the princes and princesses.

Upon Prince Muhammed Sultan being joined at Brusa by the remainder of his cavalry, he de-

spatched ten thousand to Nicæa, under the command of his cousin Ebubekr, and another division along the sea-coast to Kemlik, in further pursuit of the Osman prince Suleiman. Nicæa and Kemlik (Kios or Civitot), which, since the time of the crusaders, had been spared any similar ravage, were at once plundered, dispeopled, and razed to the ground. Nicæa destroyed.

Suleiman, whose object was to sail to Europe, embarked just in sufficient time to escape the hands of the Tatar troops, who were in pursuit of him, and who had actually gained the water-side. While Muhammed and Mirsa were thus scouring the northern provinces from Kutahiah to Brusa and Nicæa, Prince Hussyn Mirsa was making inroads upon the districts of Hámid and Tekké; and Amyr Sháh, the viceroy of Choaresm, was engaged in a similar way in the direction of Aidin and Ssaruchan. The former conquered the cities of Aksheher and Karahissar, levying a contribution in money as the price of their being spared from burning and massacre; the other ravaged the whole country to the sea-side. Bāyezyd's treasure, together with his harem, was despatched on camels by the Sheikh Nureddin to Kutahiah, under an escort, attended by musicians and dancers, and there laid at the feet of the Tatar conqueror, accompanied also by the two princes of Karaman, whom Bāyezyd had detained as prisoners at Brusa. Timūr sent the captive sultan his wife, but intimated his wish that she should become a convert to Islamism. She was a princess of Servia, and,

though living in the bosom of the sultan's harem, had hitherto maintained her attachment to Christianity. He further presented Muhammed, the elder of the Karamanian princes, with a caftan and sash, and put him in possession of the kingdom, which had been wrested from his father by Bāyezyd; comprising the cities of Konia, Lárenda, Akserai, Antalía, Alaje, Sivrihissar, and Begbasari: he received the congratulations of his grandsons, who returned from their marauding expeditions loaded with booty, and ordered two of his bravest generals to be put to death, with all their families, for some delinquencies; after which he gave a grand fête, at which female slaves out of almost all countries waited in the capacity of cupbearers. Some time was spent at Kutahiah in the reception and despatching of ambassadors, when, while the princes Muhammed Sultan and Mirsa Ebubekr had gone into winter cantonments at Magnesia, and Shahrukh had taken up his quarters at Kermian, satisfied with the desolation of the districts of Menteshe, and Tekké, and Aidin, and Ssarukhan, Timūr advanced along the coast to Smyrna (Izmir).

Timūr proceeds to Smyrna.

At the bridge of the Mæander, built by Timūrtash, the sons of the prince of Menteshe prostrated themselves before the Tatar emperor. They had formerly been chased by Bāyezyd from their father's dominions, and had found an asylum at the court of Isfendiar, the lord of Sinope, who also in the same way solicited Timūr's protection, his father Kötürüm Bāyezyd having been defeated by Ildirim Bāyezyd, and deprived of his cities Kostamúni and

Samssun. Timūr was well pleased to restore their paternal territories to the princes of Aidin and Kermian, in order that, before he finally decided upon the case of Bāyezyd and his sons, he might previously weaken the remains of the Osman power by the counter opposition of the neighbouring princes, whose states Bāyezyd had merged in his own; and, therefore, he had conferred upon his protegé Taherten, prince of Erzenjan; upon Ibrahim the lord of Shirvan, the lord of Kumach, and Kara Juluk, the founder of the dynasty of the White Sheep, all the eastern border-provinces of Armenia and Persia; while he beheld with infinite satisfaction the sons of Bāyezyd at variance with each other, and eager to appeal to the sword for the possession of that small portion of their father's kingdom of which the Tatar conqueror had not disposed. He therefore amused them all with hopes, by dealing out liberal promises to their respective ambassadors. Sheikh Ramasan, the ambassador of Suleiman, came twice with his master's congratulations, who was rewarded for his obsequiousness with the investiture of all the Osman possessions in Europe, by a red diploma in Timūr's own hand-writing. The ambassador, Kutbeddin, the representative of Isa, Bāyezyd's second son, and the bearer of congratulatory presents from him, was dismissed with every gracious assurance of favour; and the prince Muhammed was equally forward in paying homage to Timūr, by his envoy Ssofi Bāyezyd, the politic master of his court, by whom, at the early age of twelve years, he had

been rescued from the battle of Angùriah, and placed in the secure fortress of Amasia; but, at the same time, he apologised for not accepting the conqueror's invitation to appear personally in his camp, where his own brother Musa was associated with Bāyezyd in his captivity. The siege of Smyrna, which Timūr superintended in person, is at once remarkable for the brave though ineffectual defence made by the Knights of Rhodes, and for the novel and gratuitous cruelties practised by the conqueror.

Christians butchered at Smyrna.

When the Christian inhabitants failed in their attempt to be received on board the galleys riding at anchor, not only were they all, without exception, mercilessly butchered, but, as the number of heads was too small to admit of the usual pyramid of skulls being erected, stones and skulls were on this occasion piled up in alternate rows: between every two stones a skull "grinned horribly." But some were reserved for a different purpose. Certain Christian frigates, whose object was to compel Timūr to raise the siege, arrived too late, but were near enough to be within gun-shot. Timūr, therefore, sent them ambassadors extraordinary with the news of his having reduced the place, by causing the heads of slaughtered Christians to be discharged from his war-engines on board the vessels, as they lay off the coast. During the thirty days that he encamped at Ephesus, the inhabitants were driven together in herds like wild beasts from their abodes, their property was pillaged, and their lands desolated; and, because the children of an unhappy city marched in procession, praying the

suras of the Koran, and with bitter lamentations imploring that their city and lives might be spared, he no sooner heard that they laid claim to his compassion, than he ordered his cavalry to trample the whole assembled mass of innocents, Koran and all, under the horses' hoofs.

Death of Bāyezyd.

Meantime, Bāyezyd died of an apoplexy at Aksheher. Timūr's favourite grandson, Prince Muhammed Sultan, expired four days after, in his nineteenth year; and, while his corpse was conveyed to the burial-place of his ancestors beyond the Oxus, the Tatar emperor permitted the Osman prince Musa to remove his father's corpse, which had been temporarily interred at Aksheher, to be deposited with all due solemnity at Brusa. Such was the end of Bāyezyd the Lightning, who for fourteen years had darted his flaming beams through Europe and Asia. The Osman empire, which he had reduced into a compact form, as well as considerably enlarged by conquest, was not only totally lost to him, but split asunder from the dissensions of his sons, and from the policy of Timūr, who fomented that dissension. No small diminution of the kingdom took place by the restoration of the princes of Aidin, Menteshe, Tekké, Kermian, and Karaman, to their original possessions; and the breach amongst Bāyezyd's sons, Muhammed, Isa, Musa, and Suleiman, was productive of a war of ten years' duration, which was terminated only by the death of the three latter brothers; thus leaving Muhammed sole master of the European and Asiatic dominions united under

his single sceptre. Timūr himself survived his captive only two years. He had celebrated his victories with great magnificence at Samarkund, and was on his march to reduce the empire of China. He died at Otrar, after a reign of thirty-six years, mourned by a numerous posterity of thirty-six princes, his sons and grandsons, and seventeen princesses, his grand-daughters,—at the advanced age of seventy-one; the greatest conqueror perhaps on record; and the memorials of whose disgraceful barbarity were countries ravaged and depopulated, cities smoking in ashes, and pyramids of human skulls.

Death of Timūr.

CHAPTER IV.

MUHAMMED THE SECOND.

A.D. 1461. YEAR OF HIJRAH 864.

Muhammed takes Amassra and Sinope—Ravages the Territories of Usunhasan—Takes Trapezus, and overthrows the remains of the Byzantine Empire in the East of Asia Minor.

From the death of Bāyezyd, surnamed Ildirim, or the Lightning, in the year 1402, till the year 1461 no events of importance transpired in western Asia which fall within the compass of the present work. Muhammed the First, and Muhammed the Second, his successor, were both too deeply engaged in Europe to carry on any extended operations even in Asia Minor, not to mention the more distant eastern frontier; those of Muhammed in Karamania, in the year 1413, being on a very limited scale, as well as those of Murad in the same country thirteen years afterwards. But seven years after the final conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Muhammed the Second resolved to overthrow the shadow of power which still remained to the family of the Comneni, the Byzantine emperors in the east, at Trapezus, as he had already destroyed the western branch of that dynasty by the conquest of Peloponnesus. But two objects still nearer than

Trapezus presented themselves to his notice. These were, Sinope, which was situated on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, the capital of the kingdom of the Isfendiare; and Amastris (Amassra), the capital of the Genoese possessions in Pontus. Beyond these lay the road to Trapezus. That these three cities, thus lying contiguous to each other upon the Black Sea, should belong to three different independent powers, was so much more agreeable to the conqueror, as, from the deep secresy which he observed respecting his plans, it was doubtful whether, by the preparations made in the fleet and army of Asia, he meditated an attack upon the Genoese at Amassra, the Turks at Sinope, or the Greeks at Trapezus. He cherished a feeling of hostility against all the three powers, which was announced only against the Genoese by a formal and open declaration of war. This commercial people, at peace with Muhammed since the conquest of Constantinople, had entertained the hope of obtaining the sultan's leave to keep possession of Galata, as they had done in the case of the Byzantine emperor, and had urged their suit by an embassy. Muhammed answered, " That he had undertaken nothing against Galata from the mere desire of conquest, much less had he used any violence; that the inhabitants of Galata had of their own accord, after the overthrow of Constantinople, presented him with the keys of the city, and that he had accepted them with the best disposition to promote their interests." Owing to this refusal, the Genoese declared war, and Muhammed imme-

diately put his fleet and army in a state of forwardness in order to chastise them; and, instead of giving them back Galata on the Bosporus, to reduce also Amassra, their principal trading-town on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

Conquest of Amassra

Mahmud Páshá, the grand vezír, had the command of the fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty ships. Muhammed himself was at the head of the Asiatic forces, which he conducted by land with a numerous train of camels and beasts of burden from Akjasi, on the road between Nicomedia and Sabanja. Amastris, now called Amassra, and formerly Sesamos, lies upon a small peninsula furnished with a double harbour; denominated by Pliny, from the beauty of its edifices, the eye of the world, and mentioned in high terms by later historians as a very important place of trade. These advantages were obvious to the Genoese, who latterly made it the staple of their commerce on the Euxine. Upon the first summons of Muhammed, the Genoese merchants surrendered. Muhammed left the city one-third of its inhabitants, and carried off the other two-thirds, as settlers, to Constantinople.

and of Sinope.

When Muhammed set out in the summer from Constantinople upon this expedition, no one knew his real intention — whether he was aiming a blow merely at the Genoese, or whether he was meditating farther designs against the Lord of Sinope, or the Emperor of Trapezus. To one of his generals, who ventured to ask the sultan regarding the object of his expedition, he angrily replied, "If the

hair of my beard could dive into my plans, I would pull it out and burn it." From Brusa, where Muhammed had a long time waited the completion of the fleet under Mahmud Páshá, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships, he wrote to Ismail Beg, the Lord of Sinope, of the family of Isfendiar, whom he had shortly before honoured by an ambassador extraordinary on the occasion of a fête which that prince had given at his son's circumcision, requiring him to provision his fleet, and, in case of necessity, to furnish money also from the produce of the copper-mines. By a second letter, he demanded that sultan Ismail's son Hasan should be sent to him to Angùriah. Ismail Beg, whose brother, Kisil Ahmed, was in the sultan's camp, obeyed the conqueror's invitation; he sent his son Hasan to Angùriah to pay his respects. Hasan was graciously received, but dismissed with the following message: "Tell your father that I very much wish for his city of Sinope. I will give him in exchange the pashalik of Philíppopolis (Filibi). If he is not contented with these terms, I will very soon be with him myself." At the same time, the greatest part of the territory belonging to Ismail, namely, the district of Kostamúni, was granted as a fief to Kisil-Ahmed, the brother of the Lord of Sinope; and the patent was at the same time expedited accordingly. Muhammed advanced with his fleet in front of Sinope, and Mahmud Páshá informed the lord of the city, both by writing and word of mouth, that all resistance was so much the more useless, as half his territory

had already been bestowed as a fief on his brother. The descendant of Isfendiar surrendered himself, with a good grace, to the superior power of the sultan, who, when Ismail would have kissed his hand, did not allow it, but embraced him, calling him his elder brother. As a compensation for his lost sovereignty, the sultan assigned him the possession of Jenisheher, Ainegöl, and Jarhissar. Thus, without a blow, Sinope surrendered to the conqueror, though strongly fortified by nature and art, and supplied with four hundred cannons and two thousand artillerymen for its defence. Sinope, like Amastris, furnished with a double harbour, attracted from the most remote period the attention and consideration of the kings and conquerors of Pontus, on account of the singular advantages which its situation afforded to commerce. Against the first Mithradates, by whom Pontus was first erected into a kingdom, the inhabitants of Sinope made a gallant defence; Mithradates the Great (King), with whom the kingdom fell to the ground, declared Sinope the capital of it. Lucullus, the conqueror of Cyzicus, a town upon the peninsula of Proconnesus in the Propontis, was also the conqueror of Sinope in Pontus, which was joined with a peninsula. He ordered eight thousand Cilicians, who had not saved themselves by a timely flight, to be massacred; but he restored their property to the inhabitants, as well as the beautiful statue of Autolycus, who was one of the Argonauts, the pretended founder of the city. This statue was distinguished among the works of art belonging

to Sinope, no less than the sphere of Billarus, and the statue of Zeus, which was carried from Sinope to Alexandria, and worshipped there in a magnificent temple under the name of Jupiter Serapis. Sinope was also famous as the birth-place of Diogenes. The trade consisted, and still does, chiefly in hemp and cordage, in train oil made from dolphins, and in salted tunnies, a fish which Strabo mentions as being caught there in great abundance. Muhammed himself kept possession of the city. He had given in fief the possession of Boli, the old Hadrianopolis, to Ismail's son Hasan, and that of the remaining part of Paphlagonia, together with the capital, Kostamúni, and the rich mines, to Ismail's brother, Kasil-Ahmed, as a sandjak, upon payment of a yearly tribute of fifty thousand ducats. From these mines Kostamúni holds as important a place in the register of the Turkish treasury as it does in the literary history of the country, from having been the birth-place of no fewer than twelve poets.

Muhammed's march to Trapezus.

Leaving Sinope, Muhammed did not proceed coastwise, but by land, on the high road which leads beyond Amasia and Sívás to Erzerûm; as the line of route was not precisely in the direction to Trapezus, but to the neighbouring territories of Usunhasan, the great lord of the dynasty of the White Sheep, who, allied by marriage to the emperor of the Comneni at Trapezus, had a year ago sent a messenger to Muhammed to beg for his brother-in-law, David Comnenus, the sovereign of Trapezus, a remission of the tribute of two thousand ducats

which that prince was bound to pay annually to the Porte. But this message was offensive and irritating, rather than softening and conciliatory; for Usunhasan, in order to secure the concession of the tribute payable by the sovereign of Trapezus, demanded of Muhammed himself the tribute which his grandfather, Muhammed the First, used annually to pay to Kara Iluk, the Black Leech, the grandfather of Usunhasan, consisting of a thousand housings, carpets, and turbans. The ambassador demanded the payment of this present, which had now been in arrear for sixty years. Muhammed answered, "Go in peace: I will come myself next year and discharge the debt." Eastward of Tokât, which lies two days' march from Sívás, on the road to Erzerûm, which here leads through delightful fields, lie the castle of Kojünlühissar, that is, the sheep-castle, of which the lord of the white sheep (Akkojünlü), the long Hasan (Usunhasan), had some time before forcibly deprived its possessor, Hussyn. Muhammed commanded Hamsa-beg, the beglerbeg of Romeili, to take the castle; and, in case of failure, at least to ravage the country all round. Hamsa-beg acquitted himself of this commission by destroying the land and property of the inhabitants, and putting to the sword the Armenian youth of both sexes, who by their complaints roused Usunhasan's sense of honour against the sultan. But when Muhammed had taken Kojünlü-hissar, and turned thence against Erzenjan, Sara, the mother of Usunhasan, accompanied by Sheikh Hussyn, the

Kurdish beg of Jemisgesek, went to meet him at the mountain Bulgar with rich presents, in order to negotiate a peace in her son's name. Muhammed received the princess and the Sheikh with great honours, styling her mother, and him father. He concluded, through their mediation, a peace with Usunhasan, and then directed his march over Mount Bulgar to Trapezus. The mountain is high and steep, and Muhammed climbed up nearly to the top on foot. "My son," said Sara to the Sultan, "how can you possibly like to encounter such hardships for the sake of becoming master of Trapezus?" "Mother," replied Muhammed, "in my hand is the sword of Islam! were I to decline these hardships, I should not deserve the honourable name of Ghasi (that is, of conqueror), and must sooner or later stand ashamed before God." They consequently passed over the mountain to Trapezus.

Description of Trapezus.

Trapezus, that is, the table or square, was so called from the earliest period, probably on account of the square figure of the walls, which square to this day is carried all round the castle situated upon the declivity of a mountain. A Grecian colony, drafted immediately from Sinope, and dependant on the mother-country, it afforded a hospitable reception to the ten thousand Greeks, who, in their retreat from Persia under the conduct of Xenophon, after so long and toilsome a wandering in the interior of a barbarous country, saw for the first time the waves of the Euxine, and exclaimed, "The sea, the sea!" with no less joy than at other

times the sailor hails the sight of land,—a shout of joy, elicited not more by the certainty of preservation than indicative of a natural desire of rest from harassing fatigues, and a wish for enjoyment rendered intense by long deprivation; a feeling intelligible in all its bearings only to the sailor, or the inhabitant of the coast, who, after a long absence from the sea, descries it again for the first time, and quenches his ardent thirst after the divine immeasurable expanse by glutting his sight with the full prospect of it. What Mithradates did for Trapezus is unknown; but the repairs and ornaments of Trajan, Hadrian, and Justinian, are recounted by inscriptions on the walls, and are obvious from the remnants of the harbour built by Hadrian, and the aqueduct formed by Justinian. As Sinope, the mother-city of Trapezus, was an object of recollection to the ancient Greek, from being the birth-place of Diogenes, so the colony reminds the modern Greek of Cardinal Bessarion and George of Trapezus, who were both born here. Trapezus too, as well as other cities on the coast of the Euxine, is celebrated for its fruits and fish. The pears of Trapezus are no less famous than the apples of Sinope and the cherries of Cerasus; and six different kinds of fish, which are found at Trapezus, are esteemed as great a delicacy as the tunny-fish of Sinope. Favoured by such natural advantages, and by its situation, and raised since the time of Trajan to be the chief town of the Cappadocian Pontus, Trapezus was the object of the first piratical expedition of the Goths on the

Euxine sea. Though surrounded by a double rampart, and occupied by ten thousand warriors, it was surprised by the Goths, who massacred and plundered the inhabitants, and carried off such an immense booty that they with difficulty freighted their ships with it.

After the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, when the Angeli, the Lascari, and the Comneni, were enthroned only in three places—the very wreck of the Byzantine empire in Epirus, at Nicæa, and at Trapezus; this last city was the head-quarters of the pretended imperial power of Trapezus. The powerless shadows of royalty of this kingdom, surrounded on all sides by mightier neighbours, sought protection from the ties of affinity. They espoused their princesses, not only to members of the Byzantine family, but also to the princes of the White and Black Sheep, to the grandsons of Timūr, and other neighbouring barbarians, as the Lazes and Abases. Usunhasan, the great prince of the White Sheep, had married the niece of David, the last emperor of Trapezus, the daughter of his brother and predecessor John, who, hard pressed by the Sheikh of Erdebil, manfully stood out in the fortress with only about fifty men, notwithstanding the universal flight of his subjects. This resistance had compelled the Sheikh of Erdebil to withdraw his forces; but the neighbouring Turkish Páshá of Amasiah, Chisr Beg, who, in the name of Prince Bāyezyd, residing there, governed the Sandjak, took Trapezus by surprise, and carried off nearly two thousand slaves. Upon

this John sent his brother and neighbour, David, to the new lord of the Osmanlis, Muhammed the Second, who had lately ascended the throne, and begged and obtained the restoration of the ravished and enslaved inhabitants, in consideration of a promise of the yearly tribute of two thousand ducats.

David, the successor of John upon the throne of Trapezus, purchased the tottering sovereignty of him also by a continuation of the same tribute, till—by the interposition of Usunhasan, his brother-in-law, which wore rather the character of a challenge than that of a mediation—he was, instead of being released from the tribute, deprived of the throne. When Muhammed appeared before Trapezus with his army, Mahmud Páshá, who had brought up his forces several days before, had already made many assaults upon the place to no purpose. Upon Muhammed's arrival, he left the emperor to determine for himself, whether he would retire with his treasures and servants, or lose them altogether with his life. David, though he had not surrendered either to the arguments or the weapons of Mahmud Páshá, who held out to him as a lure the example of the despot Demetrios living in affluence at Ainos, immediately surrendered to the laconic summons of the sultan. The emperor, with his family, was carried on shipboard to Constantinople; the city was occupied by Janissaries and Asabegs, under the command of the Sandjak of Kallipolis, and the surrounding country taken possession of by Chisr-beg, the Sandjak of

David, emperor of Trebisond, surrenders.

Amasia. The youth of Trapezus were enrolled among the Spahis, Salihdares, or Janissaries, or became pages of the sultan. The princess, daughter of the emperor of Trapezus, whom her father had offered as a sultaness to Muhammed, as the despot Demetrios had his daughter, was, like that princess, rejected with disdain; the nephew of David, the son of his predecessor and brother John, and properly the rightful heir of the sovereign power of Trapezus, from whom David had usurped the throne, was kept in close custody, while the youngest of David's eight sons renounced his father's faith, as a Moslem, at Adrianople. Here there were at the Sultan's gate at the same time the two last remaining branches of the house of Byzantium, Palæologus Demetrios, despot of Peloponnesus, and David Comnenus, emperor of Trapezus, both honoured as ex-sovereigns with a yearly pension and a peaceful asylum; both, at the suggestion of their daughters, sent back into the harem, as being unworthy of this honour; both branded with the mark of infamy from their abject surrender and spiritless purchase of their crowns, and reduced to the meanest and most degrading offices during the remainder of their lives, on a footing with the lowest slaves of the palace. Palæologus afterwards, instead of the imperial mantle, put on the habit of a monk, and was even compelled to witness the tragical execution which awaited Comnenus and his family. Upon the suspicion of a letter addressed to David by his niece, the wife of Usunhasan—in which she invited

one of his sons, or her uncle Alexius, to come to her — Muhammed ordered all the members of the imperial family of Trapezus to be thrown into prison at Adrianople, whence they were sent to Constantinople, and subsequently executed there. David and his brother Alexius, together with his nephew, the son of his predecessor John, and seven sons of David, fell under the axe of the executioner; only the eighth son was spared, as being a moslem; and the princess Anna, whom her father had intended to be a sultaness, became a slave in the seraglio, where she remained a Christian. She was afterwards twice married; first to the Páshá of Thessaly, Saganos, as a Christian, and afterwards to a son of Evrenos, as a moslem. The sons of the noblest officers of the court and state were disposed of as janissaries or pages; and of the young women of Trapezus, Muhammed made presents to his sons or pages—some he took himself, like the princess their mistress, as slaves into the harem, and others he afterwards betrothed in marriage to his officers. Only one single individual of the sovereign house of Trapezus—a woman, the empress Helena, the daughter of Cantacuzenus—suffered and died, like the mother of the Maccabees, with noble heroism. In defiance of the commands of the tyrant, that no one should dare to approach the corpses, in order that they might be mangled by dogs and ravens, she went, clothed in sackcloth, and with a spade in her hand, to the spot where her children and her dearest friends had been butchered; she dug a grave, kept

Heroism of Helena.

off the dogs and birds of prey in the day-time, and passed the night in burying her ten dearest relatives, till she, soon after, herself sunk down into their grave, exhausted and overpowered no less by bodily pain than agony of mind. Thus ended the imperial house of Byzantium, both in the east and west, in grievous humiliation and blood; and thus the empire of Greece was crushed in Europe and Asia by the "Lord of two seas, and two parts of the earth," as Muhammed styled himself after the conquest of Constantinople.

CHAPTER V.

MUHAMMED THE SECOND, (CONTINUED.)

YEAR OF HIJRAH 866, A.D. 1463.

War in Karamania, and reduction of that Kingdom — Revolt in Karamania — Usunhasan ravages Tókát — Dynasties of the White and Black Sheep.

A WAR in Bosnia, and a rupture with Venice, which broke out in the year 1463, did not withdraw the peering eye of the conqueror from an event of considerable importance to his empire in the East. This was the death of Ibrahim, prince of Karamania. Ibrahim, first embroiled in a civil war among his seven sons, was afterwards involved in the politics of Muhammed, and at last in a war with him, which ended in the subversion of the Karamanian kingdom, after a dangerous rivalship, to the Osmans for a century and a half, and perpetual wars, which were usually brought to a conclusion by a broken peace made in consequence of some family alliance. In the reign of Murad the First, Alaeddin, prince of Karaman, had been defeated and taken prisoner; the issue of the first Karamanian war during Bāyezyd's reign was the separation of both kingdoms by the river Cheharshenbessu; while the second left Îldirim master of

War in Karamania.

the whole kingdom of Karaman, and the person of its prince, who was put to death. His successor fled to Timūr, who, after Bāyezyd's captivity, replaced him on the throne. Muhammed the First had carried on one war against Karaman; his successor, Murad the Second, two; and Muhammed the Second, at the very commencement of his reign, had overthrown Ibrahim, prince of that country, for having opposed his plans. Of the seven sons whom he left behind him at his death, six were by the sultaness, a sister of Muhammed the Second—Pir Ahmed, Karaman, Kasim, Alaeddin, Suleiman, and Nur Ssofi; the seventh, Ishak, was the son of a slave. This last, who was the favourite, his father acknowledged as heir to the throne, to the exclusion of the six sons of the sultaness; having even in his lifetime given up to him his treasures and the district of Itshil (Cilicia), with Selefke (Seleucia) for his residence. Upon this, the six sons of the sultaness openly declared war against their father, besieged him in his capital of Konia, and drove him from it. Ibrahim not long after died a natural death in the castle of Kawala; upon which Pir Ahmed, the eldest of Muhammed's six nephews, took possession of the capital and the northern part of Karamania, the fairest part of the kingdom; leaving to his stepbrother, Ishak, nothing more than the stony Cilicia. His brothers Suleiman and Nur Ssofi fled for protection to their uncle's gate, and were graciously honoured by him with fiefs. Ishak-beg sought a counterpoise against the rivalship of his

brother in an alliance with Usunhasan, the powerful prince of the dynasty of the White Sheep, who listened to his proposals with so much the greater readiness as he promised the sum of a thousand ducats for the maintenance of every corps of auxiliaries which should be granted him. Usunhasan set out from Erzenjan, north of Sívás; and Ishak-beg went to meet him for the purpose of conducting him into his own territories. But the troops of this new ally were scarcely less injurious to the land than those of an enemy; and when Usunhasan retired, he left behind him the former lord of Kostamúni, Kisil-Ahmed, who had been presented by Muhammed with the Sandjak of Jenisheher, because it was at his suggestion that Muhammed had dethroned his brother at Sinope, but who had in the sequel been induced by Usunhasan to go over to him. Ishak-beg, anxious to secure the concurrence of the sultan, as the readiest way to maintain himself on his throne, had sent one of the most learned men of his kingdom as ambassador to Muhammed, with the proposal of a voluntary surrender on his part of the cities of Aksheher and Begsheher, on condition that the sultan should grant no assistance to his nephew. These Karamanian states Muhammed knew were already in his possession: he therefore directed his ambassador to say, "That the proposal of such concessions by way of present was a perfect farce; and that, if he would have nothing to apprehend from his step-brother, he must give up all pretensions to the territory on this side the Chehar-

shenbessu, and fix the boundaries of the two kingdoms at those limits at which they originally stood in the reign of Bāyezyd." As this was not acceded to by the prince of Karaman, the governor of Antalia, Hamsabeg, received orders from Muhammed to invade Karamania. A general engagement took place at Ermenak, or, as some say, at Taghbasar, in which Ishak-beg, being defeated, fled to Cilicia, and then shut himself up with his wife and children in Selefke. Pir Ahmed sent his uncle the keys of the cities of Aksheher, Begheher, Ssaklanhissari, and Ilghun, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude for the services he had rendered him. So that, while the presence of the sultan and his grand vezír was necessary in Europe, the war in Karaman was in reality brought to a conclusion. But Muhammed, little contented with this, forthwith resolved to add Karaman to his dominions, equally regardless of his sister's son as of Ishak. And a plausible reason was afforded him for taking this step, by the circumstance of Karaman's league with the enemies of the Osmanlis; for not only did an understanding subsist between that power and Usunhasan, but an alliance offensive and defensive had actually been contracted by Karaman with the Venetians themselves.

Muhammed, therefore, accompanied by his whole army and Mahmud Páshá, set out for Asia; and soon reduced, not only the castle of Kawala, but also Konia itself, the residence of the sovereign. He then despatched the grand vezír to the old capital of the country, Karaman, whither Ishak-

beg had fled in hopes of security. Here an important battle was fought, in which Ishak was totally defeated, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life. Muhammed, however, gave vent to his anger for the flight of his nephew in the execution of all the prisoners. Mahmud Páshá received orders, also, to extirpate the last remains of the family of Torghud, a Tatarian branch, which ever since Timūr's time had been left in the neighbourhood of Tarsus, as well as to draught off to Constantinople all the artizans and mechanics of Konia and Karaman. The lenity exercised by the grand vezír on this and some previous occasions was offensive to the sultan. He therefore degraded him from his office by a Tatarian ceremony now introduced for the first time among the Osmanlis, but much resorted to by succeeding sultans. He ordered the tent of the grand vezír to be dashed to pieces about his head, all at once, in the most sudden and violent manner. An unlooked-for accidental fall of a house, which shatters the whole collected building over the heads of its inmates, is scarcely so hasty and astounding in its effects as the loss of the sultan's favour. The post of grand vezír was bestowed upon the second vezír, Rum Muhammed Páshá, the Grecian renegade, and the government of Karaman upon Prince Sultan Mustafa, Muhammed's third son. In this way, the dynasty of Karaman, which had raised itself on the ruins of the Seljukians, at the same time with the Osmans, was entirely crushed by the superior force of the latter. It had flourished for

a hundred and sixty-six years,* and maintained itself in ten successive wars against its more powerful rival, before its final reduction. All Karaman, with the exception of Selefke, where Ishak's widow for some time held out, was now subjected to the Osman yoke; and Karaman, or Lárenda, together with Konia or Iconium, both the ancient and

* The sons of Seljuk, a powerful Turkish family, descendants of the son of Oghus, the Khan of the sea, settled at the end of the tenth century of the Christian era at Buchara, where Boghra-khan, otherwise called Oghus, reigned. Thirty years afterwards, Mahmud, the great lord of Ghasna, the conqueror of India, led them beyond the Oxus to Chorasan. Mahmud's father, Sebektegin, who, from being originally the Turkish slave of a general of the imperial family, Saman, had been appointed by him the governor of Ghasna, soon rendered himself absolute master of the country. Mahmud, instead of the title of king, styled himself sultan,—a title which had never before been adopted by any one. The sovereignty did not continue in his family more than a century and a half, having submitted to the superior power of the descendants of Seljuk, who reigned, for more than two centuries, from the Caspian sea to the Mediterranean, in the forcible possession of the five separate Seljukian dynasties, established in Fars, Kerman, Damascus, Haleb, and Rum, or Asia Minor.—Hamm. p. 9, vol. i.

1. The Seljukian dynasty in Fars began in the year of the Hijrah 432 (1040. A.D.), and became extinct in the year 590 (1193. A.D.), thus containing 158 years, through fifteen reigns.

2. That of Kerman began 433 (1041), became extinct 583 (1187), lasted 150 years, under nine sovereigns.

3. That of Haleb began 471 (1078), became extinct 510 (1116), lasted 40 years, under five sovereigns.

4. That of Damascus began 488 (1095), became extinct 549 (1154), lasted 81 years, under nine sovereigns.

5. That of Rum began 477 (1084), became extinct 700 (1300), lasted 223 years, under fifteen reigns.

modern capitals of the kingdom, were stripped of their most useful inhabitants, in order to people Constantinople.

Karaman, the modern Lárenda, built by Karaman-oghli, the founder of the dynasty, with the fragments of the old Lycaonian city, Lárenda, whose ruins are to be seen at no great distance from it, falls far short of the historic celebrity of the old Iconium, the modern Konia. This latter is famous for the march of the ten thousand Greeks under the conduct of Xenophon, for the heroic deeds of the crusaders, and especially for Frederic Barbarossa's conquest; for the buildings erected by the Seljukian sultans, particularly Alaeddin the Great; and, lastly, for that erected by the great mystic poet, Jelaleddin Rumi, as the burial-place of his family, as the central point of the order of the Mewlewi, founded by him, as a place of retirement for pious devotees and discarded statesmen, who here, under the pretext of a life of contemplation, secure to themselves respite and tranquillity from the fatigues of active life. There still exist some old figures in basso-relievo, which favour the tradition of Theseus being the founder of the city; and some Arabic inscriptions on the walls and gates give the names of the Seljukian sultans, their respective founders. The beautiful vale of Merem is full of well-watered gardens with delicious fruits, among which an excellent kind of apricot is found in the highest perfection, and the beautiful flower which the Turkish tanners use to dye morocco of a sky-blue colour. The

Konia.

castle, a large cistern, the walls, the tomb of Alaeddin, are the principal works of the great Seljukian prince; of a later date are the mosque and cloister of the Mewlewi built by the Osman sultans; and Sultan Selim erected a mosque with colleges, which is called by his name, (according to the pattern of the Aja Sofia,) whose gates are remarkable for their elegant architecture. So that Konia still deserves the name of "urbs celeberrima," which Pliny gave it in his time.

Revolt in Karamania.

But though Karaman might be considered so far subdued as to admit of the conqueror's bestowing his undivided attention on the affairs of Europe for five years, yet the spirit of its native princes was not altogether crushed; and, during Muhammed's absence from Asia, threatened to throw off the yoke. Muhammed, therefore, once more cast his restless eye towards Karamania, and was filled with apprehension. Nor were his fears, with respect to that union and security which he thought necessary to his retaining quiet possession of Karaman, unreasonably excited, when he saw the son of Ishak-beg, with his mother, setting him at defiance in the fortress of Selefke, and his father and uncle (Kasimbeg) supported by their ally Usunhasan. Added to this, though the Tatarian branch of Torghud was extirpated, yet there remained another formidable tribe of Tatarian extraction, that of Warsak, which had occupied the country ever since Timūr's expedition, and which was governed by an independent prince, Kilij Arslan, a descendant of the old Seljukian sultans of Asia

Minor. His territories comprised all the country round Alaje. Rûm Muhammed Páshá, the grand-vezír, therefore, being invested with full powers to maintain the Osman authority in those parts, proceeded to ransack the cities of Eregli (Heraclea) and Lárenda without mercy; and when the inhabitants earnestly implored that their mosques and schools might be spared, in consideration of their having dedicated their property to Medina, the burial-place of the prophet, as a pious establishment, he savagely ordered the supplicants to be cut to pieces. Having thus filled the cities of Karaman with groans and tears, this blood-thirsty executioner was proceeding to exercise the same ravages in the territory of Warsak (the modern name of that particular range of mount Taurus which lies north-west of Selefke); but one of the begs of the Warsaks, called Ojus-beg, waylaid his marauding cavalry with a body of infantry in the passes of Cilicia Trachea, and slew more than half the Turkish army, while the other half were happy to escape with their lives, leaving all their ill-gotten booty to the enemy. This occasioned Rûm Muhammed's disgrace; and Ishak Páshá, being appointed to succeed him, marched against Kasim-beg, who had roused the country to arms in favour of the old family. He encountered him near the castle of Mût, put him to flight, and then repaired the fortifications of Mût and Nikde; and afterwards took the castles of Warkoi, Uj-hissar, Ortahissari, and the city of Akserai, which he dispeopled at the express command of the sultan. The inhabitants

were conveyed to Constantinople, and quartered in that part of the city which is now called Akserai. All these events transpired in the same year, in which the island of Negroponte was invaded.

1470. In the following year Keduk Ahmed Páshá was sent with an army to invest Alaje, which had been built by Alaeddin Keikobad, the Seljukian sultan, upon an eminence on the site of the old Coracesium; and whose cliffs, composed of strata of white and red sand, rise from five to six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The lord of Alaje was persuaded to surrender upon amicable terms; he was sent with his wife and child to the gate of the sultan, who assigned him Kumuljina for his maintenance. From this place, under the pretence of hunting, Kilij Arslan one day took an opportunity of escaping to Egypt, having left behind him his wife and child, both of whom soon after died of grief and vexation, and were buried near each other at Kumuljina. A precious stone which the sultan had presented to Kilij Arslan was sent by him to Keduk Ahmed Páshá for the purpose of being returned back to Muhammed. Ahmed Páshá placed the stone amongst others before his master's eyes, as if it had been purchased of a jeweller; but Muhammed, who was a connoisseur in stones, immediately selected it as being the very same which he had given to Kilij Arslan. It has been mentioned before, that when Ishak-beg the prince of Karaman, fled to Usunhasan, his wife and son (Muhammed-beg) remained for security in the castle of Selefke. Upon receiving news of her husband's

death the widow sent an envoy expressing her readiness to submit to the sultan, who entrusted to the vezír Kezuk Ahmed the business of the surrender of the fortress. He discharged his commission, and then presented himself before the castle of Mohan, in which the family of Pir Ahmed-beg, the step-brother of Ishak-beg, and the daughter of an eighth son, Muhammed-beg, who had died in Ibrahim's life-time, a woman of extraordinary beauty, at that time resided. Keduk Ahmed took charge both of the beauty herself and the treasure in the sultan's name, and then besieged the castle of Lulge. Upon becoming master of this place, he ordered part of the inhabitants to be massacred, and the rest to be thrown down from the walls, for having defended themselves. The approach of Usunhasan's army, however, prevented him from keeping his conquests, so that he retired back to Konia.

Usunhasan ravages Tokát.

The army of Usunhasan, with which he designed to support the pretensions of the Karamanian princes against Muhammed, had advanced beyond the Osman frontier to Tokát. It was accompanied by Pir Ahmed, the youngest of the dethroned princes of Karaman, and his brother Kasimbeg, both of them Muhammed's nephews; its generals were Omar-beg, the vezír of Usunhasan, and his nephew, Jusufje Mirsa. All the cruelties which history recounts as having been practised at Timūr's taking of Sívás were inflicted on Tokát on this occasion. The city was burnt to the ground, and numbers of the inhabitants put to

the sword. After this display of brutality, the vezír, Omar-beg, advanced to Diarbeker, leaving the nephew of Usunhasan, Jusufje, at the head of ten thousand men, with whom, at the instigation of the Karamanian princes, he ravaged the territories which they were desirous of governing.

When intelligence reached Muhammed of this double injury—at once the sacking of Tokát and the ravages in Karamania committed by Usunhasan's forces—his rage knew no bounds. He issued immediate orders that an encampment should be formed at Scutari for an expedition into Asia, and that all páshás and begs should repair thither to attend upon his person with their respective contingents of troops. The danger was pressing; the heart of Asia Minor was threatened; the grand vezír, Ishak, and Prince Mustafa, without any troops, at Konia, were in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Mahmud Páshá, therefore, was hastily recalled from his residence at Kallipolis to fill the post of grand vezír a second time, and came to Scutari to kiss hands; but whether it was that he deemed the preparations for this year in reality not forward enough to enable him to cope advantageously with the enemy in sufficient time while the season remained open,—or whether, from personal dislike to the viceroy, Prince Mustafa, he wished to share alike the danger of the campaign and the honour of victory exclusively with the sovereign,—he humbly represented that the season was now pretty far advanced, that the winters in Karaman were severe, and the army by

no means either in sufficient force or duly equipped for the campaign. He requested, therefore, provisionally, that the beglerbeg governor of Anadoli, Daud Páshá, should be charged with the protection of the country, and the suppression of acts of violence and depredation committed by the Turkman hordes. Muhammed assented to the proposal. Daud Páshá was ordered to go to Karaman, and Prince Mustafa was apprised of the arrangement. In the meantime, Jusufje pushed forwards with Karaman's son, ravaging the territories of his allies. He had made a détour from Aksheher, southward, beyond Karamut, to the district of Hamid, and then taken an easterly direction to Koraili, which lies on the lake of the same name. Prince Mustafa and Daud Páshá had also come beyond Karamut and Jalawaj to Korali,—that is, upon the lake Koralis, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Karamanian general, Jusufje Mirsa, was taken prisoner. By Muhammed's order he was thrown into irons, and the other prisoners were put to death. The two Karamanian princes, Ahmed and Kasim, saved themselves by flight; the former went back again to Usunhasan, the latter made the best of his way to Cilicia, and securely entrenched himself at Selefke.

Dynasties of the White and Black Sheep.

The narrative of Muhammed's expedition against Usunhasan, the great lord of the Turkman dynasty of the White Sheep, suggests to us a short notice of this dynasty and its head, especially as European writers have been somewhat mistaken with regard to his exploits, no less than his name,

which they have corrupted into Usong. At the end of the eighth century after the flight of Muhammed, and the fourteenth after the birth of Christ, during the reign of the Mongul emperor Argun, of the family of the conqueror of the world, Jengyz, there were two Turkman clans, who called themselves by the name of the White and Black Sheep. These clans had come westward from the East, and settled themselves in Cappadocia and Mesopotamia; this latter in the south at Diarbeker in Mesopotamia, the other more north, at Sívás in Cappadocia. One hundred years after this period, they erected themselves into sovereign families; the Turkman, Kara Jusuf (the Black Joseph), being the founder of the Black Sheep dynasty, and Kara Juluk, or the Black Leech, the founder of the White Sheep. Of this latter, Usun-hasan, or the Long Hasan, was the grandson, and the third in succession. He commenced his career in the service of his brother Jehangyr, the sovereign of the White Sheep, against their common uncle, Hasan, whom he defeated, took prisoner, and put to death with his sons and amyrs. He afterwards attacked by surprise the residence of his brother, Diarbeker, having introduced his soldiers disguised as charcoal-makers and hucksters, so that his brother escaped with difficulty. As lord of Amid, though not yet sovereign of the White dynasty, he invaded the Osman territory, made himself master of the castle of Deweli-kara-hissar, and afterwards concluded a peace with Muhammed by the mediation of his mother Sara. She

Year of Hijrah 855. A.D. 1451.

Year of Hijrah 867. A.D. 1462.

was probably of the Comneni family, as were Usunhasan's grandmother and wife. It suited the policy of the Emperor of Trapezus, as well as Usunhasan, to strengthen, by alliances with the families of each other, the bonds of one mutual interest for the defence of their territories against their neighbours the Osmans. After the death of his brother, Usunhasan mounted the throne of the White Sheep, and declared war against Jehanshâh, the prince of the Black Sheep, who had recourse to Muhammed for assistance; but he being at that time engaged in Albania with the war against Skanderbeg, and in building the fortress of Ilbessan, had no leisure to attend to his request; and after some battles, Jehanshâh, being unsupported, suffered a defeat, was taken prisoner, and put to death. Usunhasan, who was well acquainted with Jehanshâh's fruitless application to Muhammed, ordered an official notification of the victory to be despatched to the sultan, with a present of three heads, one of which was the state secretary's of Jehanshâh. The document concluded by inviting the sultan to maintain perfect friendship, to pay him all obedience and submission, and to pray for the increase of the prosperity and dominion of the White Sheep dynasty. The head of Jehanshâh himself, who had been openly at war with Usunhasan, was sent as a more expressive accompaniment of the despatches announcing his victory to the grandson of Timūr, the sovereign of the territory bordering on the Oxus. Ebusaid, whose father, Miranshâh, had received from Timūr the sovereignty of Aserbaijan,

Year of Hijrah 875. A.D. 1467.

which Usunhasan had united to his dominions immediately after the death of Jehanshâh, did not allow himself to be alarmed at receiving the head of the decapitated prince; but prepared to set out in person against the usurper, in order to conquer his hereditary territories. But he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Usanhasan in a mountain pass; the greatest part of his forces were killed, and he himself was taken prisoner. Neither respect to the blood of Timūr, nor the recollection of his grandfather's system of policy, who was indebted to Timūr for his possessions, prevented the Long Hasan from beheading the sovereign of Transoxana, the grandson of Timūr. He sent Ebusaid's head to the Sultan of Egypt with a threatening despatch; who, however, notwithstanding these menaces, ordered the head to be washed and honourably interred.

Usunhasan, having thus conquered Timūr's grandson, the sovereign of Transoxana, now conceived the bold resolution of deposing from the throne of Khorasān, Hussyn, the great-grandson of Timūr, the son of Baikara, the grandson of Sheik Omar. For this purpose he made use of a cousin of Hussyn's, named Jakdiar Muhammed, another descendant of Timūr, whom he induced to put in his claim to the sovereignty, and whose claims he successfully supported with an army. Sultan Hussyn, finding his rival too powerful, fled first to Herat, and then to Balkh, while Muhammed Jakdiar, the protegé of Usunhasan, mounted the throne of Herat. The letter in which Usun-

hasan mentions to his ally and dependent, Pir Ahmed, the prince of Karaman, the happy consequences attendant upon an alliance with a prince so able to re-establish dethroned monarchs as he himself was,—is, notwithstanding its high-sounding language, an indisputable document of Usunhasan's greatness at that time, and the extent of his sway, which, when at its zenith, spread from Khorasān to Karaman over the greatest part of Persia. He tells him, "That Sultan Hussyn Baikara, in the first instance, assured him of his disposition to cultivate a friendship with him, and that he had therefore endeavoured to act in the same manner towards him by sending an extraordinary ambassador; but since he had discovered that this friendship was neither firm nor sincere, he had supported the descendant of Timūr, Jakdiar Muhammed, with an army which he had entrusted to the command of his son, Chalif Behader, with the design of reinstating him in his hereditary dominions. That he had made him master of the eastern and southern parts of Khorasān, as far as the Oxus and Hindūstan; that he had established another of his sons, Prince Muhammed, by an army of thirty thousand men, in the government of Masenderan, Taberistan, Astrabad, Kumis, Damaghan, Bestan, Semnan, Firufkuh, and Larjan; that he had bestowed on a third son, Seinel Beg Behader, the government of Kerman and Sirjan, which extended as far as the Persian Gulf, together with part of Irak; while, in the meantime, the cities of Nun, Kais, and Tain in Khorasān, had been occupied,

and their possession secured by a force of twenty thousand men; that the amyr, Omar-beg, was maintaining himself in Fars with a considerable force, that he had conquered the fortress of Churremabad in Lorestan, which had withstood the repeated sieges of Ebusaid and Jehanshâh, and the fortress of Jesiré, the capital of Kurdistan; that now his widely extended kingdom, thank God! was as invulnerable on all sides as if it were encompassed by a dike of Alexander."

Usunhasan's offensive letter to Muhammed.

Elated by victory, and considering himself sovereign of the East, Usunhasan thought himself capable of coping with Muhammed, as Bâyezyd had imagined himself equal to Timûr. Like him, he had granted protection and help to the fugitive princes whom the Osmans had driven from their dominions. He had afforded an asylum to Kisil Ahmed of Kostamûni and the princes of Karaman. And besides the circumstance of going so far as to help them with a body of troops, he had exasperated Muhammed further by the despatch which he had sent him, announcing at once his own victory and the reduction and death of Jehanshâh, with whom Muhammed had always maintained relations of friendship. But what was still more insulting and offensive, he never once gave Muhammed the title of Sultan, but merely that of Beg. He informed him, "That he had entirely conquered Fars, dispersed his enemies, fixed upon Shiraz as his residence, had received homage from Hussyn Baikara, who had yielded up his royal prerogatives, and now, by God's grace, had nothing

to fear from any quarter." The offence was so much the greater, because Muhammed kept up a friendly correspondence with Hussyn Baikara, as he did with Jehanshâh. Muhammed, therefore, couched his reply in terms of more studied offence, addressing Usunhasan only by the title of Persian Khan: "When any one, presuming on his good fortune, transgresses the bounds of moderation, and enters upon unjust enterprises, it is a sign that his sovereignty is on the point of falling. You must clear your brain of those Satanic notions which have so fully insinuated themselves into it, and follow only the dictates of reason as your guide. My kingdom is the house of Islam. From father to son the lamp of my kingdom has been lighted up with the hearts'-oil of infidels. It is because you entertain cruel intentions against Moslems that you are yourself, together with your people, concealers of the enemies of the Law. To extirpate these, I have saddled my horse, and girded on my sword. You shall not have to plead that you were not informed of my design, or that you were not aware of it. It is not in the slightest degree necessary that you should advance into our territories. In the month of Shewal I shall set out with my victorious army against your castles and fortresses, on purpose that God, who controls all and crushes all (blessed be his name!), may select me as the instrument of his vengeance, and effectuate through me the destruction of your name. But there is no occasion for any further expressions. You will send an answer to my imperial

diploma. Peace belongs to those whose wishes and actions are honest and sincere."

A D.1473. At the end of March, Muhammed broke up his camp at Scutari for Jenisheher, and the troops of Romeili passed over to Kallipolis. When the army reached Begbasari, the prince viceroy of Karaman, Sultan Mustafa, came to kiss hands, as did Sultan Bāyezyd, the viceroy prince of Amasia at Kasabad. The whole army was drawn up in the plain of Sívás. It consisted of forty sandjaks and twenty thousand janissaries under the Sultan Bāyezyd on the right wing, to whom the Beglerbeg of Romeili (Chass Murad Páshá, one of the Palæologi, the son of Vitus) was joined in the command, and twenty-four sandjaks with twenty thousand Asabes on the left wing, led on by Daud Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Anatoli. In the centre the cavalry were drawn up in ranks, as usual, for the immediate guard of the sultan; the Spahis to the right, and the Salihdars to the left, accompanied by the Ulufeji and Ghureba distributed right and left: altogether a well-appointed army of one hundred thousand men. Alibeg, the son of Michaloghli, the hereditary captain of the irregular cavalry, had been already despatched forward to make reprisals in revenge for the cruelties which had been perpetrated at Sívás. Usunhasan, put upon his guard by these forewarnings of Muhammed's arrival, as well as the letter which he had received in the interval, had taken up a strong position close on the Euphrates, with the river covering his flank, and a mountain in his rear. Chass Murad Páshá,

who was actuated by the impetuosity of youth, and the fortunate issue of some skirmishes, precipitately threw himself upon the main body of the enemy. Michaloghli, who found the enemy too strong for him, had retired with his irregular cavalry. Mahmud Páshá, who had followed Murad Páshá, sent orders for his immediate return, and not to sacrifice the lives of his men; but Murad Páshá, from disobedience of these orders, fell into the snare laid by Hasan. Hasan made a feint of retreating, with a view of drawing on the pursuing enemy towards a body of men whom he had placed in ambuscade. Murad did not perceive the consequences of his imprudence till it was too late. His courageous bravery was unavailing, and he fell with the greatest part of his men. Three of the most distinguished generals of the Osman army were taken prisoners, Omar-beg, the son of Turakhan, the governor of Peloponnesus, Haji-beg, the Defterdar of Romeili, and the learned lawyer, Ahmed Chelebi, the son of Fenari. These three were all confined in a tent. The rest of the prisoners were sent to Beybúrd. Usunhasan told the son of Turakhan, with an air of exultation, that he considered the power of the Osmans as now broken, since he had destroyed the flower of it by this defeat of the army of Romeili and its generals, and by his having the son of the conqueror of Peloponnesus for his prisoner. Omar-beg replied, "That a hundred thousand men like himself were yet at the sultan's nod;" and it was not without difficulty that he succeeded in appeasing the anger

Defeat of Osman army.

of Usunhasan by all the palliative and softening expressions he could use.

Muhammed did not suffer his own spirits or those of his army to droop at the loss of the battle. To encourage them, he had recourse to a dream; whether it was that he really had such a dream, or that he ventured to calculate upon a favourable interpretation being put upon the contrivance. He dreamed, or pretended to have done so, that he and Usunhasan entered the lists as wrestlers, and put one another's strength and dexterity to the proof in a regular match. Usunhasan first brought the sultan down upon his knees, who, however, sprung up again, and gave him such a blow on the breast, that a piece of Usunhasan's heart fell upon the ground. Within a few days the dream was fulfilled by the complete victory which Muhammed gained over Usunhasan in the neighbourhood of Erzenjan. The Osman army had already, on the sixth of March, set out on its route into the enemy's country towards Beybúrd, and on Monday the seventh, the first day of the month Rebiul-ewwel, had arrived at Utschaghisli in the neighbourhood of Terjan. Here the enemy's forces were descried upon the hill of Otluk-beli, where Usunhasan drew them up in order of battle, giving the command of the right wing to his younger son, Seinel, and that of the left to his elder son, Oghurlu Muhammed. To them were opposed on the side of the Osmans, Sultan Mustafa, with the Asiatic troops and Asabes on the left wing, and Sultan Bāyezyd, with the European troops and janissaries

Victory of Muhammed over Usunhasan at Terjan. 1473.

on the right. The battle commenced by Mustafa making a violent attack on the enemy's right wing; in sustaining which, Seinel, the son of Usunhasan, fell. His head was cut off on the spot by Mahmud, the agah of the Asabes, who presented it to Prince Mustafa, and he laid it at his father's feet. In this way, Muhammed's dream was realised; for children, both in the Persian and Turkish languages, are called pieces of the heart. Prince Bāyezyd turned the left wing of the enemy, commanded by Prince Oghurlu Muhammed; the whole Turkman army fell into disorder, and Usunhasan fled from the field, leaving behind his camp and baggage. For three whole days Muhammed lingered upon the place entirely for the purpose of butchering the prisoners. Some few scholars, many of whom, induced by Usanhasan's patronage, constantly accompanied the army, were, however, exempted from the slaughter, and not only released from their fetters, but treated with much consideration. Among them were the judge, Mahmud Sherichi, one of the most learned men of Irak; Kasi Hossnkeifi, the imam of Usunhasan, and Seid Muhammed, his secretary of state for the sign manual.

Treatment of the prisoners.

The amyrs of the family of the Black Sheep, whom Usunhasan had carried along with him as prisoners ever since the defeat of Sultan Jehan, were set at liberty as old clients of the Osman sultans; three Mirsas of the family of Timūr, and related on the mother's side to Osman Baienderi, the grandfather of Usunhasan, were sent as state prisoners to Amasia; two others of Usunhasan's

principal begs were put into irons, and Ditrik, the son of Sinanbeg the Osman, who had formerly gone to Persia with a view to scientific improvement, and had been very active in inducing the Lord of the White Sheep to undertake the expedition against Rûm, was executed. Three thousand Turkmans were doomed to the same fate; but not all at once, nor in the first heat and intoxication of victory; but, in order that the cruel spectacle might last the longer, they were dragged along upon the march, and, at every halting-place, four hundred of these wretched victims were selected to be daily slaughtered by the executioner. In this way these military sacrifices lasted seven days, till the army was encamped before Karahissar—a castle remarkable for the strength of its fortifications. Upon the march against Usunhasan, Mahmud Páshá had given it as his opinion, in a council of war summoned by Muhammed, that it was necessary first of all to besiege and reduce Karahissar, for that it was extremely dangerous to leave this fortress in the rear of the army. "We are not here to conquer castles, but to beat the enemy," replied Muhammed angrily; though, for the moment, he so far suppressed his indignation as to say no more. After the great victory obtained over Usunhasan, the place surrendered, as soon as Muhammed sat down with all his forces before it (as the old historian, Neshri, expresses it), at a single glance of his formidable power. Darrabbeg, the Persian commandant, was rewarded for his ready acquiescence by the Sandjak of Chirmen,

Fall of Karahissar.

in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. An immense treasure was found in the fortress. Muhammed distributed this amongst the soldiers, over and above the gratuity of ten million aspers which he had shared among them at the beginning of the campaign, as an earnest of their pay in future; and either from conscientious scruples, in consequence of a vow which he had made to that effect, or from a momentary feeling of humanity, he gave freedom to all Usunhasan's slaves, male and female, by way of returning thanks to God for the happy issue of the campaign. At his single word, forty thousand youth of both sexes were restored to freedom. From this place, too, he transmitted an official account of his victory to Sultan Hussyn Baikara, the great grandson of Timūr, the Lord of Khorasān, over whom Usunhasan had before gained many advantages, and to his son, Sultan Jem, the governor of Kostamùni; at the same time issuing orders to the beglerbegs and sandjaks of the empire to celebrate the victory with all possible rejoicings.

Entire reduction of Karamania.

With a view of bringing the war in Karamania to a conclusion, and reducing the castles, which were still in the hands of the Karamanians, Keduk Ahmed Páshá, was ordered to act under the command of Sultan Mustafa, the governor of Karaman. The most considerable places, which yet held out for Pir Ahmed and Kasimbeg, were, besides Sighin, Kurko, and Selefke, the fortresses of Ermenak, Minan, and Deweli-Karahissar. Pir Ahmed had encamped on the heights of Jellidepe, that is,

upon the windy hill close to Lárenda, where Ahmed Páshá demanded a friendly conference. Karaman went to the conference without any suspicion of treachery on the part of the Osmans, who would have taken him or put him to death, as Ariovistus intended to treat Cæsar on a similar occasion; and it was with great difficulty that he made his escape from the troopers of Ahmed Páshá, who had fallen upon him by surprise. Ahmed, by a stratagem, made himself master of the strong position Ermenak, in the neighbourhood of which lies the grotto of Corycus, so famous for its saffron (a spot which, however, has not hitherto been discovered or described by European travellers), and thence proceeded to besiege the castle of Minan, to which Pir Ahmed had retired for security with his harem and his treasures. Its rocky situation seemed pre-eminently calculated to set the besiegers at defiance, from the difficulty of bringing the artillery to bear at any point from which the castle could be effectually bombarded.

But the cannons were mounted on batteries, and Jusuf, the commandant of the place, was compelled to surrender after a bold defence. Pir Ahmed, who was either actually in the castle, or hard by at the very time, being resolved not to survive the loss of his harem, his treasure, and the last of all his fortresses,—threw himself headlong from the battlement of the walls which could no longer protect him. From Minan, Ahmed Páshá marched his army to Selefke, which had been lost a second time; where, however, he preferred a

trial of what could be accomplished by treachery, rather than risk an open attack. In this instance he was more successful than at the conference with Pir Ahmed. He bribed the people who worked the guns of the castle to apply the matches to the powder-magazine instead of the cannons on the rampart. The magazine was blown up, and a breach effected. In the midst of the fright and confusion thus occasioned, the Osmans entered sword in hand, and easily overpowered and killed the small number of Karamanians, amounting to about a hundred and eighty, who had remained true to their post, and would have defended the castle. Prince Mustafa, the governor of Karaman, was desirous of undertaking the siege of Deweli-Karahissar in person; but, labouring under severe indisposition, entrusted it to Kojibeg, one of the boldest of his officers. Upon his summoning the commandant of the castle, Atmajabeg, this latter declared he would surrender to no other than to the prince viceroy, who, weak and ill as he felt himself, yet hastened forward to the place, and Atmajabeg, agreeably to his promise, opened the gates to the Osman troops. The prince, however, was too ill to occupy the place when put into his hands; and, sending for Ahmed Keduk Páshá to complete arrangements, set out in haste with the hope of reaching Konia; but his malady gained so rapidly upon him on the road, that he died at Bosbasarjik, in the neighbourhood of Nikdé. His death, thus brought about, served Muhammed as a pretext for that of Mahmud

Páshá; and the post of grand vezír was bestowed on the beglerbeg Keduk Ahmed Páshá, who had so entirely finished the war in Karamania; while the viceroyalty of Karaman, which had become vacant by Sultan Mustafa's death, was conferred upon his brother, who had till now been the viceroy of Kostamúni, Prince Jem.

CHAPTER VI.

BAYEZYD THE SECOND.

A.D. 1481. YEAR OF HIJRAH, 886.

Bāyezyd enters on a war with Egypt. History of the family of Sulkadr — Dynasty of Ramasan-oghli — Reverses of Osman generals on the Syrian frontier — Inglorious peace with the Sultan of Egypt purchased by important sacrifices of castles in Itshili.

BAYEZYD the second had already, as Muhammed's successor, occupied the throne of the Osmanlis four years before he was engaged in any Asiatic war. This circumstance was owing not more to the various affairs of Europe having demanded his attention, and to the rivalship of his brother Jem, than to his natural love of peace. But, inclined as he was to peace, he could not forbear yielding to the weighty reasons, which required his vigorous resistance of the Egyptian power now threatening serious encroachments on Karamania. For some years, indeed, previous to Bāyezyd's assumption of royalty, that is, in the latter part of Muhammed's reign, there had not existed the best understanding between the respective sultans of the Osmanlis and the Mamelukes. Melek Eshref Kaitbai's predecessor, Choshkadem, had refused the conqueror the permission which he asked, to be allowed to

War with Egypt.

repair, at his own cost, the cisterns on the pilgrim-road to Mecca, and had lent auxiliaries to the prince Budak, of the dynasty of Sulkadr, against the prince Alaeddewlet of the same family, who was favoured by Muhammed. A succinct account of the establishment of the house of Sulkadr seems a necessary preliminary to that of the rupture between Bāyezyd and the Egyptian sultan. Somewhat more than a century had elapsed since the Turkman Seined-din Karaja Sulkadr founded an independent sovereignty in a part of the old Cappadocia, the modern pashalik of Meroesh. Muhammed the Conqueror, like his grandfather Muhammed the First, had married a princess of Sulkadr, and the father-in-law of Muhammed the First was kindly supported by him in his war against his brother Musa. The founder of the dynasty who made himself master of Meroesh and Elbastan was succeeded by his son Chalil-beg, who added Charpurt, Behesni, and Malatiah to his hereditary state, and whose successor and brother, Sulibeg, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Kasi Burhaneddin, the lord of Sivás, and the other to a son of Sultan Bāyezyd. He added Hamah to his possessions, and was succeeded by his nephew Nasireddin Muhammed, who, entering on the government in his forty-sixth year, administered it also forty years, during which time he formed a strict alliance with Egypt, and was thereby enabled to take possession of Kaissarije. He was followed by his son Suleiman-beg, whose four sons all in succession held the sovereignty. They were

History of the family of Sulkadr.

786 Y. of H. A.D. 1378.

840 Y. of H. A.D. 1436.

Arslan, Shehsuwar, Sháh Budak, and Alaeddewlet. First, Arslan obtained the government and was murdered by Sháh Budak, his brother, who, having taken refuge in the court of the Egyptian sultan, was sent by him to occupy the vacant throne. The begs, not choosing to have the fratricide for their sovereign, begged Muhammed the Second to support the claims of Shehsuwar, which Muhammed did by formally investing him with the feudal tenure of Sulkadr and Bosuklü. Budak hereupon withdrew to his patron Kaitbai, the Egyptian sultan, who again espoused his cause; and who, having detached Muhammed by very magnificent presents and equally magnificent promises from the interests of Shehsuwar, soon found means of getting this latter into his power, and hanged him in chains at the gate of Cairo. Muhammed would probably have taken no particular notice of the execution of his brother-in-law, if Kaitbai had evacuated the territory of Sulkadr agreeably to the terms of his proposition; but Kaitbai supported the brother of Shehsuwar with an army, in order to raise him to the sovereignty of Sulkadr; and, though full ten years had elapsed since Budak assumed the government, Muhammed now took the side of the other still surviving brother, Alaeddewlet. By means of an Osman army despatched against the district of Sulkadr, Budak was again driven back to Egypt, and Alaeddewlet placed on the throne of the disputed sovereignty. Such were the relations between the Osmanlis and Egyptians at the end of the preceding reign, when

872 Y. of H. A.D.1467.

the Sháh Behmen's grand vezír, the learned Kodja Jehan, being sent from India in the character of ambassador to Bāyezyd, was detained on his way through the Egyptian sultan's territories, and robbed of the greatest part of his costly presents. Further than this, Jem, the competitor for his crown, had met with a hospitable reception and support at Cairo, and the Egyptian troops had lately occupied several castles in the neighbourhood of Adnah and Tarsus belonging to the prince of the Ramasan dynasty, and had molested the caravans of the pilgrims as they were proceeding on the road towards Mecca.

Dynasty of Ramasan-oghli.

The country, which was the scene of war, is exactly the intervening boundary between Asia Minor and Syria, where mount Taurus encroaches on the Mediterranean sea. In this mountainous region the dynasty of the Turkmans Ramasan-oghli had reigned as independent princes for two hundred years; a dynasty which has been scarcely known hitherto even by name to European writers. When Suleiman, the grandfather of Osman, the founder of the Osman empire, was drowned at Jaaber near the ford of the Euphrates, as he was returning to Khorasān, and his sons bent their course northwards, seven of his attendant Turkmans of the tribe of Uchok, that is the three arrows, were left behind with their families in the plain of Chukurowa. Their names were Jürker, Kussun, Warsak, Kara Isa, Ufer, Gündüs, and Kish Timūr. Jürker, their leader, obtained from the Armenian inhabitants of the country, with

whom he was on terms of friendship, the right of pasturage in the environs of Adnah, Massissa, and Taurus—a right which he transmitted to his son Ramasan. Ramasan assigned to Kussun the territory of Assarlik for a winter residence, and the mountain-range of Gülek for his flocks in summer. Kish Timūr wintered at Tarsus, and in the summer pastured his cattle on mount Bulgar; while Gündüs occupied with his herds the plain of Sis in the severity of winter; and, as the milder season of spring advanced, drove his stock to the mountains of Massissa; Ramasan taking for his portion the plains and hills in the neighbourhood of Adnah. Thus they had become masters of the open country, but were not strong enough to dislodge the Armenians from their towns; when, about half a century after their first settlement in Armenia, David, a descendant of Ufer, adopted the expedient of courting the alliance of the Egyptian sultan. His proposals were listened to by the sultan, as far as regarded the conquest of the territory in question, which, however, the sultan added to his own dominions, appointing David as his viceroy. David's example was soon followed by the other branches of the family. Gündüs fled to Egypt, and put the sultan in possession of Aias; Ramasan's son, Ibrahim, helped him to occupy Adnah and Sis, and a son of Kish Timūr was instrumental to his seizure of Tarsus. In this manner the Egyptian sultan was in undisputed possession of six of the strongest fortresses of Armenia minor, namely, Aias, Gülek, Sis, Massissa,

Adnah, and Tarsus, with some others of lesser note. Karagös Páshá, the governor of Karamania, being ordered to reduce these places, the inhabitants of the castles Alnakash and Mollen, the people of rank from Tarsus, the heads of the Turkman branches Kish Timūr, Kussun, and Kara Isa, went to meet him on his route from Adnah to the castle of Gülek, which guards the defile, all flocking to his standard; and the four castles of Gülek, Alnakash, Mollen, and Birsbert, surrendered to the Osmanlis, as tributaries. But, in another quarter, the Osman army suffered the first of three defeats, which followed one after the other in this war.

Y. of H. 890
A.D. 1485.

Jakub Páshá, who, at the request of Alaeddewlet, the prince of Sulkadr, had been sent to help him against Malatíah, fell upon the rear of Bishbeg, the first armour-bearer of the Egyptian sultan, and, together with Alaeddin, was defeated with great loss. The beglerbeg of Karaman, Karagös Páshá, after he had intrusted the custody of the castles which had been conquered round Adnah to Musa-beg, and to the sultan's brother-in-law Ferhad-beg, presuming upon his own good fortune, which had hitherto been so singular, and his bravery, indulged in all the thoughtlessness and mischievous levity of youth. A numerous army, commanded by Usbeg, the grand vezír or generalissimo of the Egyptian sultan, and by Temerüs, the viceroy of Haleb, surprised the garrisons of Tarsus and Adnah, who were in a state of supineness and security, and in that security had strolled in different directions from head-quarters: they

expelled the troops who yet remained in garrison, while the two begs, Musa and Ferhad, were compelled (as Seadeddin expresses himself) to quaff the honeyed drink of martyrdom. In order to compensate for this double blow, the beglerbeg of Anadoli, Hersek Ahmed Páshá, another brother-in-law of the sultan, was despatched as commander-in-chief to Tarsus and Adnah; the viceroy of Karaman, Karagös, and Muhammed Páshá, the son of Chisr-beg, being appointed to serve under him. They were piqued at this circumstance, considering it as a degradation; the latter, because he was the older páshá, the former, because he was páshá of Karaman; and, therefore, upon coming to an engagement, they remained passive spectators of the struggle, so that Hersek Ahmed, though giving proofs of extraordinary valour, was taken prisoner; upon which the two páshás, Karagös and Chisr's son, hastily fled, and the fortresses, Adnah and Tarsus, became the prize of the enemy.

Bāyezyd, exceedingly angry at these defeats, which had cost one of his brothers-in-law his life, and the other his liberty, commanded his grand vezír, Daud Páshá, to advance in person into Karamania with four thousand janissaries, and his whole household troops; and the beglerbeg of Romeili, the eunuch Ali Páshá, received orders to set out from Semendra beyond Kallipolis, and to join the grand vezír. When Daud Páshá was now encamped on the frontier of Karaman, at the foot of Ala-tagh (that is, Taurus), in the neighbourhood of the castle of Kojakalaa, on the farther side of

the mountains of Ushkapalü, Alaeddewlet, the prince of Sulkadr, came to meet him, and advised him, instead of continuing his regular march, to make a détour, and advance against the territory of the branches of Warsak and Torghud, where Muhammed-beg, the grandson of Kasim-beg, by his daughter, had planted the standard of insurrection. The grand vezír followed the advice, he himself advancing over Mount Bulgar to the mountains of the branches of Warsak and Torghud, and despatching further in the direction of Karaman the two viceroys of Europe and Asia, who served under him, Ali and Karagös Páshá,—the former on the road of Tarsus, the latter through the pass of Alashjurdi. Torghud Oghli Mahmud, the grandson of Kasim, the last prince of Karamania, as soon as he saw his territory surrounded on all sides by the grand vezír's army, fled with his wife and child to Haleb. The begs of Warsak came in crowds to congratulate the grand vezír. He dismissed them, loaded with dresses of honour; and, the summer campaign being at an end, he disbanded the army at the halting-station for the cavalry near Aksheher, and retired back to Europe, where he kissed the sultan's foot at Wisé. The campaign of the following year opened earlier than usual. In the middle of March, Ali Páshá, accompanied by Chalil Páshá, the new beglerbeg of Romeili, and Sinan Páshá, the beglerbeg of Anadoli, took up his quarters at Kallipolis; and Hersek Ahmed Páshá, whom the sultan of Egypt had gratuitously released, from a wish to conclude a peace,

Y. of H. 892. A.D. 1487.

was appointed with a fleet of a hundred ships to support the army on the side of the Karamanian coast. Ali Páshá, after being joined by the troops of the beglerbeg of Karaman, Jakub Páshá, marched from Eregli, through the pass of the road towards Adnah, which is taken by the pilgrims to Mecca, repaired the fortifications both of it, and of Tarsus, at the same time making himself master of the castles of Ainsarba, Kure, Nimrim, Molwana, and restoring again the ruined fortress of Aias. Chalil Páshá besieged and conquered Sis; and Sibeg, the Egyptian commandant of the fortress, when he had been released from his fetters, and clothed with a robe of honour at Constantinople, was sent back to Egypt as a delicate compliment for the liberty previously granted to Hersek Ahmed. The sultan of Egypt sent against Ali Páshá a new army, at the head of which were the first begs of his kingdom, viz.: the grand vezír, Usbeg; the third beg, Temerüs; the first armour-bearer; the fourth beg, Kanisewi; the master of the horse; and fifteen hundred officers; with the commandants of the fortresses from Damascus, Haleb, Tripolis, Saida, and Ramla; together with the auxiliary quotas of the Turkmans, Ramasan and Torghud Oghli. When they came close to Bagras, at the narrow part of the Syrian pass, they saw that Hersek Ahmed's fleet had blockaded the pass, which runs here so narrow between the range of mountains and the sea-bank, that the pass is known under the name of Ssakal-tutan (that is, the defile). At the very moment when the Egyptian army had now given

Maritime pass of Syria.

up all hope of forcing a passage, Hersek Ahmed's fleet was dispersed by a sudden storm; consequently the army passed without molestation through this dangerous Syrian maritime pass, through which Alexander marched, while Darius had come down over the mountain-range from Beilan, through the mountain-pass of Amanus. The Egyptian army proceeded to cross the Pyramus (Jehan) and Kisilje (Cydnus) to the plain Aghachairi, which lies between Tarsus and Adnah. Ali Páshá stood surrounded by his bravest begs—by Kisil Ahmed, the son of Isfendiar; by Omar-beg, the son of Turakhan; by Muhammed-beg; upon the right wing were posted Sinan and Jakub, the beglerbegs of Anatoli and Karaman, with Ahmed Páshá, the son of Velieddin the poet, and Suleiman-beg; upon the left Chalil Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili. The van of the Asiatic wing was formed by the sons of Evrenos, that of the left by Hussyn-beg of Ochri. Usbeg, the Egyptian general, had upon his right the beglerbeg of Damascus, with those begs who were the dignified officers of the court; upon his left the beglerbeg of Haleb, with the commandants of Syria mentioned above. Four thousand lancers, commanded by Evrenos, formed the van. When the two sons of Evrenos, Isa and Suleiman-beg, fell together in the beginning of the engagement, the Asiatic army gave way, and betook itself to flight, followed by Temerüs, whose lancers plundered the camp, which was abandoned to the enemy's mercy. The army of Usbeg, in the struggle with the European troops,

had, after some loss, thrown itself upon the encampment of Romeili, plundered it, and struck into the road of Haleb. When they came to Bagras, they found the pass blockaded by the troops of Ahmed Páshá, who had disembarked in the interval; they succeeded, indeed, in forcing a passage, but not without considerable loss, besides being compelled to leave behind the united booty of the two camps, which they were trailing with them. Usbeg, supported by Warsak and Torghud, remained behind and besieged Adnah, which he took after the blowing-up of a powder-magazine. Ali Páshá withdrew to Eregli and Lárenda, sending Karagös Páshá, who on this occasion, too, was the first to fly, and the begs, to whom he attributed the ruin of the campaign, by the Sultan's order, to Constantinople; where, after a short imprisonment, some of them, among whom was Karagös, were put to death, and the others were degraded from their offices. The Egyptian war continued to be involved more than ever in a train of disastrous consequences from the treachery of the Prince of Sulkadr. Alaeddewlet, who had been seated on the throne by Muhammed the Second in the latter part of his reign, in opposition to the claims of his brother Budak, who was strongly supported by Egypt,—fell off from the sultan, in consequence of the successes of the Egyptian army in the war against the Osmanlis, and carried on an intrigue with the Egyptian grand vezír, Usbeg, for the marriage of his daughter with the vezír's son. The brother of Alaeddewlet, Bu-

Treachery of Alaeddewlet.

dak-beg, on the other hand, who had hitherto been kept in safe custody at Damascus, fled to Europe, threw himself at the sultan's feet, and was invested by him in the meantime with the feudal tenure of Wisé. In order to re-establish him in his hereditary rights, the son of Chisr, Muhammed Páshá, the viceroy of Amasia, Iskender-beg, the son of Michal, the viceroy of Kaissarije, and Mustanssor-oghli Mahmud Beg, the first of the begs of Karaman, were added to him as coadjutors. Budak marched with them against his native land. He ordered his nephew, Alaeddewlet's son, to whom the Sandjak of Kirsheher had been given as a fief, to be deprived of his eyes. Alaeddewelet advanced against him with a numerous force; and having intercepted a letter of Budak, in which he begged immediate assistance of Mahmud Beg, himself forged another letter of a contrary tendency, alleging that the miserable condition of the enemy rendered all further reinforcements unnecessary. In this way was Budak taken by surprise by Alaeddewlet; and though Iskender, Michal's son, made a brave resistance, yet, after his son had fallen, he was overpowered, taken prisoner, and sent by Alaeddewlet to the Sultan of Egypt. Usbeg, the Egyptian grand vezír, upon the news of this victory, advanced with an army, and, joining his forces with those of Alaeddewlet, laid siege to Kaissarije. On the side of the Porte, Hersek Ahmed Páshá was again ordered to take the field against them; but when the news arrived that Usbeg and Alaeddewlet had advanced forwards

beyond Kaissarije to Nikde, and were ravaging the country round Heraclea and Lárenda, Bāyezyd resolved to pass over in person from Beshiktash to Scutari, in order to conduct the campaign in Asia. He, however, suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose by the mediation of Tunis, and concluded this inglorious war, which had lasted five years, by as inglorious a peace with the Sultan of Egypt; ceding to him the conquered castles in the plain of Chukurowa, — the pretext alleged by the sultan being, that they were to be dedicated as pious institutions to the purposes of pilgrims visiting Mecca and Medina.

CHAPTER VII.

SELIM THE FIRST.

A.D. 1512. YEAR OF HIJRAH 918.

Selim's Accession — Relations with Sháh Ismail of Persia — Sunni and Shii — Selim's Massacre of the Shii — Letter of the Osman Sultan to Ismail, containing a Declaration of War against him — Alaeddewlet, Prince of Sulkadr, refuses to lend Troops to the Osmans — Further Correspondence by Letter between Selim and Ismail, the former of whom puts a Persian Ambassador to Death — Description of Osman and Persian Forces — Battle of Chaldiran — Defeat of the Sháh — Murder of Prisoners — The Sultan visits Tabríz — His arrival at Amasia — Imprisonment of Four Persian Ambassadors.

Any further detail of the reign of Bāyezyd the Second having little in common with the geography of Hither Asia, we pass on to that of Selim the First; who, upon the dethronement of his father Bāyezyd by the janissaries and spáhís, in 1512 was acknowledged sultan. His first step was to render his title indisputable by the removal of his rival brother and nephew, which he accomplished within a year. Meantime, congratulatory embassies to Selim had arrived from different parts of Europe and from Egypt; a circumstance which caused the neglect of this measure on the part

Selim's accession.

of the Sháh of Persia to be felt the more severely. Ismail, the founder of the throne of the Ssassi, had declared in favour of Ahmed against Selim in the war between Bāyezyd's sons, and had sent a splendid embassy with a train of two hundred persons, and a present of ten live lynxes to the Sultan of Egypt, in order to conciliate his friendship, and to request his aid against the Osman sultan; but he had sent no embassy to Adrianople. Immediately after Selim's accession to the throne, Ahmed had sent two of his sons to Sháh Ismail; and, after the overthrow of Ahmed, Prince Alaeddin, his son, had fled to Cairo, where he soon after died of the plague; but Prince Murad took refuge at the court of Ismail.

Affairs of Persia.

Before we begin with the narrative of the campaign in Persia against the sháh, we will take a retrospective glance of the occurrences of the last seven years in Persia. Sháh Ismail, who had been victorious over the sháhs of Shirwan and Masanderan, over Sháh Elwend, and Sháh Jakub, the lords of the White and Black Sheep, both friends of Sultan Selim, had extended his conquests westward as far as Irak Araby, and eastward as far as Khorasān. As he retired back to Persia, after the chastisement of Alaeddewlet,* the lord of Sulkadr, Amyrbeg, the Páshá of the White Sheep, surrendered to him without opposition the fortress at Diarbeker and its territory; and in the following year, Barikbeg, upon the approach of Ismail, fled

Y. of H. 913. A.D.1507.

* Alaeddewlet had refused to give Ismail his daughter in marriage.

to Syria with the prince Murad, the last remaining branch of the house of the White Sheep. Ismail gave the command of Diarbeker to his bravest khan, Muhammed Ustajlü, and that of Baghdád to an eunuch, as amyr of the divan,—with a title, which heightened the recollection of the former masters of Baghdád, Chalif of the Chalifs. In the
Y. of H. 915. A.D.1509. succeeding year, he pushed through Fars and Azerbaíjan, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Caspian Sea, from Shuster in Chusistan to Baku in Shirwan, where he wintered, and subdued the castles of the adjacent country; and before the expiration of the year 1512, he became
Y. of H. 919. A.D.1513. master of most of the countries on this side the Oxus. At his court resided the great-grandson of Baikara, Timūr's grandson, the prince Bediūsseman, that is, the Wonder of the Age; who, after the fall of his father, Sultan Hussyn, who had been dethroned and put to death by Sheibek Khan, sought protection at the court of the newly established monarch of Persia. His example was imitated by the sons of the unhappy competitor for the Osman throne, Prince Ahmed. Immediately after Selim's accession, indeed, two of them had been sent to Ismail by their father, as pledges of his friendship; and the third, Prince Murad, had, after his father's death, fled to him for protection. In order to support his claims, Ismail raised an army and invaded the Osman territory. Having been for the last fourteen years crowned with perpetual victory, and having laid at their own feet the heads of fourteen sovereigns who had refused

to prostrate themselves before his, he expected to wrest from the sultan of the Osmanlis his throne and life. But the star of his greatness had reached its zenith; it grew pale before the more lucky influences of that of the Osman sovereign: it first suffered a great eclipse from the defeat of Chaldiran, and then gradually waned for ten years with pale and faint glimmering, till its light was totally extinguished.

Religious divisions and sects of Islam.

Exactly contemporary with Sháh Ismail's appearance, the beginning of the sixteenth century exhibits also to our view one of the most remarkable epochs of Asiatic history both in religion and polity. At the very time when the fire of schism in Christendom was lurking under the embers, that of the schism of Islam, which had been smothered for a century and a half, broke out again to rage with greater violence than ever. The great distinction between the division in the church of Christ brought about by the Reformation, and that of Islamism, which was only renewed in the reign of Sháh Ismail, lies not only in the time of their rise and antiquity, but principally in this, that they completely differ in the spirit by which they were originally animated. Though the Christian religion has often furnished a handle for throwing into the world the firebrand of war, yet is the spirit, neither of Christianity itself, nor of its church divisions, political in its origin; and church and state, which in the theocracy of the Jews, and in most Asiatic religions, are as inseparably united together as body and soul, proceed in

Christendom, as it were, on a parallel path, close to each other. In Islam, church and state grew up together in one indissoluble body at the very root of the form of government; every blow aimed against the throne immediately threw down the altar also: and the great schism of the Sunni and Shii is not merely a theological speculation upon articles of belief, but at the same time a practical point in politics, involving the succession to the throne. The tree of Islam, unlike the tree of Christianity, was not, after the growth of some centuries, for the first time divided into two principal branches; but its two principal branches, the Sunni and Shii, shot forth upwards in separate directions from the very root. Whether the immediate succession of the prophet did not rightfully belong to his son-in-law Ali, before the other three chalifs, Ebubekr, Omar, and Osman; whether, after Ali's death, the sovereignty was or was not the legitimate inheritance of his sons before the house of Ommia, were the points at issue, immediately after the lapse of thirty years, reckoning from the prophet Muhammed's death, between the adherents of the house of Ali and those of his opponent. The latter, the more powerful of the two parties, and in possession of the chalifate, called themselves Sunni, that is, the genuine followers of the tradition; and they attached to Ali's disciples the sectarian name of Shii, that is, the deserters, or that of Rewafis, that is, of heretics. The first army of the schismatic Moteselle, that is, of dissenters, which disputed the throne with the pro-

phet's son-in-law, was headed by his noble antagonist Aishe, the prophet's favourite as well as youngest wife, who never forgave the husband of her step-daughter Fatima for not having blindly believed her innocence, upon inquiry into her nightly assignation with the son of Ssafan, but he must needs be silenced, like other sceptics, by a Sura sent from heaven. As she conducted the battle in person, mounted on a camel, it is called the battle of the camel. The most remarkable of the bloody battles which Mowavia fought against Ali the year before is that of Ssaffin. Two and twenty years after, when Jesid, the son and successor of Mowavia, sat on the chalif's throne, Hussyn, Ali's youngest son, expired in the desert near Kerbela from racking thirst. Aishe, Mowavia, and Jesid, were henceforth an object of abhorrence in the eyes of all Ali's followers and family, who execrated them in their hearts, and often gave vent to their imprecations in public. The posterity of Ali bore the name of Imams, which they shared at the time of prayer with the governor and first church dignitaries of Islam; but at the same time also with the chalifs, as the supreme governors of prayer and all church ritual. As their number was not more than twelve, this number consequently afterwards became the holy number of Ali's disciples. The first seven Imams had already descended to the grave without looking to the maintenance of the succession to the throne being always demanded, when the seventh chalif of the house of Abbas, Mamun, the encourager of

Y. of H. 36. A.D. 656.

Y. of H. 37. A.D. 657.

Y. of H. 60. A.D. 679.

the arts under the chalifate, whether from conscience, or from fear of being unable to maintain the throne in any other way against the perpetually increasing power of Ali's followers, declared the eighth Imam, Ali, the son of Musa, for his successor; gave him the surname of Risa, that is, the
Y. of H. 201. A.D. 816. agreeable; and bestowed upon him his daughter Ummulfasl, that is, the mother of desert, in marriage. At the same time, instead of the black colour of the dress, which was the court colour of the house of Abbas, he assumed the green worn by the house of Ali. After the death of Risa, indeed, he adopted the presumptive heirs to the throne, and resumed the colour of black. But yet he loudly and openly avowed the preference of Ali over all other disciples of the prophet, to the great disquiet of all
Y. of H. 211. A.D. 826. Sunni, and to the joy of the Shii. His grandson and third successor, Motevekkil, entered upon a directly opposite course. A rigid Sunni, he ordered Ali and Hussyn to be execrated from the pulpit, and their sepulchres to be destroyed; he forbad pilgrimage to them under the severest penalties, and pursued the Shii with fire and sword during
Y. of H. 247. A.D. 861. the fifteen years of his reign. Mostanssar, upon the death of his father Motevekkil, succeeded to the chalif's throne; he revoked the measures of his father against the followers of Ali, abolished the pulpit imprecations, and treated all the descendants of Ali with the greatest respect. In this way the partisans of Ali lived a whole century without persecution, but still without any particular favour, till Moiseddewlet, the mighty sovereign of

the house of Buje, granted them many privileges; resolving, with a view to the advantage of his own family, to weaken the chalifs of the house of Abbas by the aggrandisement of the house of Ali. Contrary to the wish of the chalif Mutii-lillah, he appointed the solemn anniversary of Hussyn's death to be kept on the day Aashura, that is, the tenth day of the first month of the lunar year. This day, which had been hitherto celebrated in the calendar of Islam, as a festival of the liberation of Noah from the ark, and of the Egyptian Joseph's release from imprisonment, was henceforth ordered to be a day of mourning and lamentation. The merchants' shops were closed, female mourners shrieking, with dishevelled hair, ran through the streets, lamenting with piteous screams the violent torturing death of Hussyn. The solemnity of this fast, which to this day is observed in Persia with so much pomp of circumstance, was the signal of war between the two parties of the Sunni and Shii, which henceforward during a period of two hundred years, till the extinction of the chalifate, so often stained the capital and the kingdom with blood. Abulhasan Kewkebi, the vezír of Behaeddewlet, was killed thirty years after the institution of the fast of Kerbela, because he wished to abolish it.

Y. of H. 352. A.D. 963.

Under the reign of Kadir-billah a frightful affray took place in Baghdád between the Sunni and Shii, who were also called Rewafis, that is, heretics. In this affray the poultry-market was burnt down. The chalif ordered a declaration of

Y. of H. 407. A.D. 1016.

the Shii to be privately prepared, that they would in future keep themselves quiet; but he was compelled to use the arm of Mahmud, the general of Gherna, for the restoration of tranquillity. Many Shii, Ismaili, and Rewafis (all which appellations are only so many different sectarian names for the followers of Ali), were executed, and many others burnt. Notwithstanding, twelve years after this period, and thirty-two years from thence, the Sunni and Shii had another quarrel in the streets of Baghdád on account of the solemnity of the fast of Aashura; the Shii were defeated, and the suburb of Karch, where they had strongly entrenched themselves, was demolished. Their sect now was highly dangerous to the throne, because in Egypt ever since the beginning of the five hundredth year of the Hijrah, and the eleventh of the Christian æra, the Fatemites, as pretended descendants of Ali, claimed the chalifate, and their party, the powerful Besasiri, had actually seized it at Baghdád. Under the weak reign of the chalif Kaimbiemrillah, Besasiri secured the triumph of the heretics. The name of Mostanssar, the Fatemite chalif in Egypt for full eighteen years, was introduced into the pulpit-prayers and the coinage, till it was again withdrawn at the beginning of Moktadi-billah's reign, and the influence of the Shii was diminished. Nevertheless, ten years after this they openly made head against the Sunni, till these latter, after a long disgraceful tumult, were completely victorious over their opponents. Nearly the two following centuries passed away in com-

parative, though not uninterrupted, tranquillity; but at length Mosteaassem, the thirty-seventh and last chalif of the house of Abbas, urged by a treacherous adviser (like the vezír Alkama, whose name in oriental history will ever be branded as a traitor), was transported, like Motevekkil and Kadir-billah, with the rage of persecution against the followers of Ali. He allowed the Sunni to pillage the houses of the Shii without mercy, and carry off their property and wives; though by such a measure he unconsciously hastened the overturning of his throne; for Alkama himself, secretly a Shii, introduced the Tatars under Hulagu, and with the fall of Baghdád ringing in the ears of the world, the chalifate itself was drowned in streams of blood. The sect of the Shii had for two centuries and a half slept beneath the ruins of the walls of Baghdád, till, owing to the successes of Sháh Ismail, of the family of Sheikhs, the founder of a throne, it was again raised to the mischiefs attendant on power, and became the prevailing sect of Persia. The Turkish family Osman, and the Persian Ssassi, though not in the slightest degree connected with the house of Ali, nor with that of Mowavia, nevertheless closely join their royal rights with those claims to the throne, and their disputes for the sovereignty with that of the sect to which they belong; so that, though there is no more mention of the posterity of Ali as pretenders to the throne, and they have long since sunk into the utmost insignificance,—the two sects of Sunni and Shii, nevertheless, as the prevailing

Y. of H. 656. A.D. 1258.

religions of the Osmans and Persians, as two neighbouring nations, both from their first origin and in their nature hostile to each other, and again intimately and immediately connected with each other by political ties—have come forward in avowed hostility against each other, and to this very day remain in declared opposition.

The favour and support of Sháh Ismail had given new life to the Shii; and the ringleader of the malecontents had three times defeated the Osman armies. This opened a wider field of religious war; or rather the scene was closed on the part of Selim by a deed the most atrocious and horrible of all that the mad Selim ever committed, or that was ever perpetrated by any either of his predecessors on the throne, or of those who succeeded him down to the present time. Sultan Selim, whose talent of Grand Inquisitor is praised by the Osman historians, had ordered a list to be taken of all the adherents of the new doctrine, as suspected persons, throughout the whole Osman empire, in Asia as well as Europe, from the age of seven years to seventy. The sum total of those specified in the list handed to Selim amounted to forty thousand; these all fell a sacrifice to the sword, or were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The only instances in all the records of history which admit of comparison with this monstrous and shocking massacre, with respect to the motives in which it originated, are the cruelties of the Inquisition and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day; and, in point of the number of the

Massacre of all Shii in the Osman empire.

victims, there is only one like it, namely, the slaughter perpetrated by Nushirwan, the pretended saint, who butchered fifty thousand partisans of the doctrine of Masdek. Those simultaneous murders of their oppressors, which were undertaken by heroic queens, like Boadicea and Teuta, or by half-subdued monarchs, like Mithradates and Jugurtha, on the extreme borders of the Roman empire in Britain, Illyricum, Asia Minor, and Numidia, were evidently suggested by political hatred, as in the case of the Sicilian vespers. In Islam such insurgents as took up arms in order to introduce some dangerous innovation of the civil and religious polity of the empire, like the professors of the doctrine of Babek and Karmat, fell with weapons in their hand on the field of battle; in Baghdád and Isfahan the sects of Sunni and Shii mutually slaughtered each other; and at Damascus one universal slaughter of the Ismailites took place within a few hours in the limits of a particular city. But here all those suspected of attachment to the new doctrine, throughout the whole range of the Osman empire, from seven years old to seventy, were marked out to be either sacrificed by the sword or condemned to the horrors of perpetual imprisonment. In this manner did Selim drown the seed of the new heresy in a sea of blood; reviving in gigantic measure during his bloody life the sanguinary court of inquisitors of the faith established by Theodosius the Great. For his murder of forty thousand heretics by sword or the dungeon, the Osman historians have given

him, like Nushirwan, the name of righteous; and in the same way his righteousness has been praised even by the European ambassadors of that age, who render their official reports agreeably to the wish of the Turkish royal historiographers.

War with Persia.

While the sword was thus raging within the whole kingdom, in order to extirpate the brood of heretics, it was high time to cleanse it also on the outside, where Sháh Ismail was pressing forward as the avenger at once of his companions in faith, and of the Prince Murad, whom he had received as a fugitive. In an extraordinary divan summoned for the purpose, the sultan declared his intention of attacking Persia, and pointed out the plain of Jenisheher as the rendezvous of the army; the very plain which was the theatre of the first battle of the founder of the empire, who here, with four hundred Turkmans, hurried to the help of the princes of the Seljukians when they were hard pressed by the Tatars, and which was also the scene of the last successful battle fought by the Sultan against his brother Ahmed. Three times already had the sultan earnestly expressed his determination, without one of his trembling slaves daring to reply, when the common janissary, Abdullah, stepped forward, threw himself on his knees, and, after the usual salutation of long life, returned thanks to the sultan in the name of his companions in arms, for his promise of at last leading them against Sháh Ismail. The speaker's answer was rewarded with the Sandjak of Salonica. The sultan broke up from Adrianople three days

after holding this council, arrived on the tenth day first at Constantinople, and pitched his tent on the Elephant's Meadow, in the neighbourhood of the suburb called Ejüb. He visited the sepulchres of the prophet's companions in arms, in order to obtain his blessing by prayers and a munificent distribution of alms; he summoned his son Suleiman, then only twenty years old, who was residing at Magnesia, to Constantinople, to act as viceroy in his absence; he ordered the troops who were quartered here to pass over to Scutari, while the Janissaries under the conduct of Hasan Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili, passed over the Hellespont to Kallipolis. He himself set out on Thursday, as being a fortunate day, towards Asia to the camp to Maldepe, where he gave to the viceroy of Bosnia, the eunuch Sinan Páshá, the beglerbegship of Anadoli. On the third day after breaking up from Constantinople, he despatched to the Sháh Ismail, by the hands of a Persian spy named Kilij, who had been seized in the camp, the declaration of war in form of a letter, which on the part of the Sultan Selim, the Feridun, the Alexander, the Cyrus, the terror of the Pharaohs of his age, denounced a war against Ismail, which was declared to be just according to the Fetva of all learned expounders of the law. This letter was addressed to the Amyr (not Sháh) Ismail, the commandant of the Persian army, who was compared to the tyrants Sohak and Efrasiab, and doomed to destruction like the last Darius, for that he had left the way of salvation, destroyed the true service of

Selim's letter to Ismail.

God, robbed the throne, cruelly treated and oppressed the Moslems; for that he, clothed in the garb of falsehood and hypocrisy, had spread abroad uproar and insurrection, had planted the standard of impiety and heresy, had given the reins to his passions, had been guilty of the infamous abuse of the pure, of the murder of the virtuous, of the profanation of the mosques, of the overthrow of the sepulchres, of the contempt of the learned expounders of the law, of the imprecation of the three first chalifs, of the ill treatment of the holy writing of the Koran: that, therefore, he (the sultan) had on these accounts put on helmet and cuirass instead of silk and gold, and had grasped the sword of battle, though he was willing, conformably to the ordinance of Islam, first, however, to admonish Ismail in hopes of his conversion: that the object of his sending this letter was to exhort him to contrition and repentance, and to the restoration without delay of all the lands which had been taken from the Osman territory; that, in case of refusal, the invincible armies of Osman would soon overspread his land; that the command of that day was God's, and that safety would be vouchsafed only to him who followed the dictates of reason and religion."

On the same day, Selim sent also an express to Ferruchshadbeg, an apostate of the family of the White Sheep, to call him to oppose Ismail. On the day after forwarding these despatches, the camp broke up from Maldepe, and the beglerbeg of Romeili, Hasan Páshá, pushed forward with the

troops, which were stationed at Kallipolis, north of the Hellespont, to the appointed place of rendezvous upon the plain of Jenisheher. Ten days afterwards, three days' rest were allowed at Sidi Ghasi—the famous sepulchre of the first Arabic cid, viz. Sid-al-battal, that is, the Lord, the Heroic Champion,—and a present of a thousand aspers* made to every man in the army. The vezír, Dukagin Ahmedsade, was sent forward with a thousand invested Spáhís, as the advanced guard of the army; and the governor of Sinope, Ahmed Karaja Páshá, was attached to him, with five hundred of the swiftest horsemen for the bringing in of prisoners. The main body then marched forwards beyond Konia and Kaissarije, where, during one day's halt, a negotiation was set on foot with Alaeddewlet, the lord of Sulkadr, to induce him to furnish an auxiliary force of cavalry. Alaeddewlet, whom Selim required to appear in person, alleged his age as an excuse for not complying with the sultan's desire, and made use of other evasive pretexts; not only totally refusing the aid solicited, but even evincing a spirit of hostility by annoying the army—an offence which made such a deep impression on Selim's implacable disposition as in the sequel formed the ground of the chastisement of the lord of Sulkadr. After fruitless negotiations, the march continued; and at Uskulje a general increase of the pay of the invested cavalry was announced. At Sívás the army was reviewed, consisting of a hundred and

* Thirty aspers equal about 4½*d.* English.

twenty thousand effective men, sixty thousand camels, and five thousand suttlers. Forty thousand men, including the invalids, were left behind between Sívás and Kaissarije, partly to cover the land on this side, partly to remedy the want of provisions and fodder, which begun to be very sensibly felt; for the Persian khan, Ustajlü, had changed the whole country through which the army marched into a desert by fire and sword; and the sultan's army was straitened for the provisions which the fleet had brought to Trapezus, and which were transported further from thence onwards upon mules. A second letter from Sultan Selim, of similar import with the first, soon followed, occasionally interspersed with Persian verses, and accompanied with a mock present of the appendages of the sheikhs—a cowl, a staff, a toothpick, and a back-scraper. These presents were designed as a satire upon Ismail's descent from a family of sheikhs. Not content with this, Selim sent from Erzenjan, in addition to these two letters written in Persian, a third in Turkish, which contained a summary repetition of his two former, mentioned his arrival in Aserbáijan, the arrangement of his army of forty thousand men between Sívás and Kaissarije, and, after some general maxims of bravery and courage, ending with a challenge to Ismail to come out and fight him in the open field.

While the army lay at Chemen, a Persian ambassador came with the answer to Selim's three letters, and with the mock present of a box full of

opiates. Selim and Ismail renewed in this way an example of an exchange of ambassadors more than once given in the history of Eastern princes, whose credentials were openly insulting, and whose presents, under the covert of irony and mockery, conveyed sentiments of contempt or hatred. The eastern history of Alexander's expedition to India enters into a minute detail of circumstances in no one particular so much as those emblematic presents by which Alexander and Porus strove to outdo each other in acuteness and boasting; and the far less doubtful histories of Timūr contain proofs of the more than satirical correspondence between him and Ildirim Bāyezyd. The barbarian heroes in Homer challenge each other to combat in insulting terms, as children play with images: no wonder, therefore, if in the East, the old cradle of imagination and of heroism, tyrants also, in the decline of the middle ages, who, moreover, loved and exercised the art of poetry, were stimulated to combat by abusive terms, and by presents expressive of keen reproach and insult under covert of allegorical representations. Sháh Ismail's answer.

The letter of Sháh Ismail, of which the Osman historians merely say that it is a mad and boasting tirade, is, at the very outset, couched in terms full of all proper respect, both in title and style, to the great Lord of the Osmanlis. It then alleges ignorance of the cause of the rupture, and dwells upon the existing friendship with Selim; stating also, that the sháh's proceedings of hostility were merely directed against the prince of Sulkadr; and appealing

to the good understanding which Ismail had maintained with Selim when he was only the governor of Trapezus: "That, if there were no alteration of their old friendship, a style so indecent as that of Selim's letter was in future by no means suited to the dignity of sultans, and that such expressions were only the work of opium-smoking secretaries—on which account he sent by his ambassador, Sháh-kuli Agah, a golden box full of opiates;—that, if what God had decreed could be shewn by mortals, repentance then would come too late;—that he wrote this upon his ride to Isfahan, but that he would now rouse himself to go and meet Selim in arms, if this friendly answer proved abortive;—that it was indifferent to him what course the sultan should pursue;—that, however, since they had delayed going to war hitherto, every thing might be yet adjusted upon a mature consideration of the end of things."

This very temperate letter, so cool in comparison of the three letters sent by Selim, and the box of opiates, whose rhetorical play upon an Arabic word must have stung so much the more poignantly, because Selim was an opium-eater,—threw him into such transports of rage, that he ordered the ambassador who was the bearer of the articles to be cut to pieces. His nephew, Murad, had formerly done so to Selim's ambassador, by whom he had required of Sháh Ismail the delivery up of his nephew Murad. Notwithstanding this challenge, no enemy appeared in sight; and they were compelled to seek him through a country

desolated by that enemy, and without provisions: that is to say, to give themselves up a prey to certain famine. The janissaries, therefore, were loud in their murmurs for return. Selim, however, so far from suffering himself to be diverted in this manner from the plan of his campaign, arranged the march of the army, in forty halts, from Erzenjan to Tabríz, the capital and residence of the sháh; and when Hemdem Páshá—the beglerbeg of Karaman, who had been brought up in the harem from a boy as the companion of Selim—ventured, at the request of the other vezírs, to remonstrate against this measure, his boldness cost him his head. Seinel Páshá was nominated to his post, and the army broke up the encampment at Erzenjan to march upon Churumek. Here Bali-beg sent in some heads and two prisoners. Selim, who, after having cut to pieces the Persian ambassador, would not expose one of his own to the risk of the same treatment, and was unwilling to remain in debt by returning no answer to Ismail's box of opiates, ordered the two prisoners to be set at liberty, and sent them back with a fresh letter, written in Turkish, to Ismail, the purport and expressions of which were still coarser than the three preceding. He addressed the sháh merely as a respectable common soldier. "Ismail Behader, you have kindly invited me to make my appearance. I have been already six weeks on the advance with a powerful army, and have hitherto received no tidings even of your existence. One thing is certain: whether you be dead or alive, your actions

March from Erzenjan to Tabríz.

are all fraud and artifice. Take physic for the infirmity of your cowardice. On purpose to cure your faint-heartedness, I have drawn up forty thousand excellent soldiers at Kaissarije. This is the only way to display magnanimous treatment of an enemy. If you conceal yourself in the corner of fear and fright, you cannot be permitted to call yourself a man. Instead of the helmet, put on the woman's bonnet; instead of the coat of mail, take the parasol, and lay aside your thirst for dominion and royalty." This letter was accompanied by a present of women's clothes, as a double irony upon the pusillanimity of the sháh. Another long letter, elegantly and formally prepared, was despatched by Selim, by the hand of an especial envoy, to the Lord of Samarkund, Obeidkhan, in order to summon him as an ally (he being a Sunni) against the sháh of the Shii; and a third to the Sultan of Egypt, requiring him to march and fight the sháh. From Churumek, the army advanced to Eskidepe, and to the field of Terjan, famous for the victory gained by Muhammed the Second over Usunhasan. From this place, a Turkman beg, who was afterwards a vezír, Mustafa, was commanded to move off to the left, to the conquest of the fortress of Beybúrd. When the army halted at Sogmen, ambassadors came from Janik, the prince of Georgia, bringing with them very acceptable presents of provisions, and the two sons of Alaeddewlet, the Lord of Sulkadr, who had fled from Ismail's court to the Prince of Georgia for protection. Selim, by way of a suitable requital,

ordered his second master of the horse to present the ambassador with robes of honour. The army proceeded onwards towards Tabríz, but the janissaries murmured when they saw that they were carried only further and further into the enemy's country, without meeting him. They loudly demanded their return home. Selim, who had answered their first murmurs at Erzenjan with the adjustment of the march to Tabríz in forty halts, and the remonstrance of Hemdem Páshá with his death-warrant, replied this time in firmer terms,—"Is this your service? Does obedience consist in words? They who long after wives and children shall be allowed to go home; we are not come so far merely for the sake of turning back. Without danger there is no rest; and without spirit and courage no object is attainable. All cowards shall be separated from those who, with sword and quiver, soul and body, devote themselves to our way: I, for my part, flinch not from my first resolve." The army followed him to a man. Meantime the officer of the cavalry, Michaloghli Muhammed-beg, sent word that the Persian viceroy of Diarbeker, Ustajlüoghli, had reached Khúi, and that Sháh Ismail himself was not far distant: a courier arrived also with a letter from Sháh Ismail, in answer to the last requisition of Selim.

Both circumstances hastened the march of Selim. While the camp was stationed at the post of Kasligöl, not far from the castle of Maku, Ali-beg, the son of Shehsuwar, sent some prisoners, who confirmed the intelligence of the arrival of the

sháh at Khúi. Selim sent the son of Shehsuwar for this service a horse adorned with golden trappings, whose bit was set with precious stones. Sheikh Ahmed, an emissary of Selim, was taken by the Persians, and brought before the sháh. He played his part so adroitly, that the sháh believed he was merely sent by the Turkmans attached to the new doctrine, with the design of uniting them in a strict alliance with the Persians. Ismail dismissed him with honorary presents, and a promise to give battle on the plain of Chaldiran. This intelligence was confirmed by prisoners brought in. At Tanasasi an eclipse of the sun afforded matter for the happiest conjectures: for as the sun was in the most remote ages the especial object of Persian worship, so in modern times it was adopted into the escutcheon of the empire: the Osmans, therefore, prognosticated the darkening of the glory of Persia, and the utter extinction of heresy. Here, too, the news arrived of the strong fortress of Bāyezyd having surrendered to the son of Shehsuwar. Two days after this, the Osman army took up its quarters at the entrance of the valley of Chaldiran, upon the eastern side of which Sháh Ismail was encamped.

In the night a council of war was held to decide whether the enemy should be attacked immediately on the following morning, or whether twenty-four hours should be previously allowed the army for rest and refreshment. The vezírs argued for the latter; the Defterdar Piri advised the attack without loss of time, because otherwise there was danger

that many of the cavalry, who were secretly attached to the enemy's tenets, should desert to them, or, after a cool reflection of twenty-four hours, should attack them with less vigour. "See," said Selim, "for once, at least, in my army a sensible adviser. It is a pity that he is not vezír." Orders were immediately issued for the assault, and the army was drawn up in order on the heights, ready to defile into the valley. When Sháh Ismail descried at morning dawn the first horsemen of the enemy opening from the heights down into the valley, he would not believe that Selim could be so rash as to commence battle in the plain: he remained rivetted to the spot, and watched the movements of the army with increasing curiosity. He commanded one of the horsemen who were taken prisoners to be brought into his presence, and questioned him upon the different divisions of the Osman army, as they came in sight, inquiring their names and their leaders. "Who are the red standards," said he, "which cover the heights like a sea of blood?" "They are the runners and cavalry of Nicopolis, headed by their hereditary field-marshal, Michaloghli." "Who," returned Ismail, "are the green standards pouring down into the valley?" "They are the cavalry of Boli and Kostamúni, commanded by a descendant of their old princes, the son of Isfendiar; and who, with the cavalry, compose the van of the army." Now a heavier cloud of dust arose, from which an immense mass of infantry, clothed in red, broke forward in waves, like a sea of blood. It was the

Asabes. Three times the clattering of horses' hoofs was heard, and a cloud of dust rose afresh, from which just glimmered standards with golden knobs; three times the sháh believed that it was the sultan in person; but it was only the begler-begs of Karaman, Anatoli, and Rûm, with their feudal cavalry. They were once more followed by infantry with colours striped with red and yellow, and wearing caps of an unusual fashion. White veils seemed to undulate backwards and forwards from their heads, and to be fastened in front with golden needles; it was the white plaited hoods of the janissaries hanging down behind, from whose farther side the yellow plaited spoons glistened in the beams of the rising sun. Now the clinking of bridles and the trampling of horses' hoofs resounded again from the heights, which were overspread with volumes of dust; while, as it rose, a number of red standards were visible on the right, and of yellow ones on the left; and, in the middle of them two large standards, the one red and the other white. "This," said the horseman, "is the Padishâh, the mighty sultan, before whom the red and white standards are borne; round him on the right are the Spáhis, and on the left the Salihdárs, the mercenaries and the foreigners; those are the picked troops of the army, and the sultan's body guards." The Shâh Ismail heaved a deep sigh, when he saw such a large force extended over the plain, and made instant preparations for the attack.

Order of battle on

The Osman army was drawn up in the usual order of battle; according to which, when the war

is carried on in Europe, the troops of Romeili form the right wing, and those of Asia the left; while the reverse takes place in Asiatic wars. Consequently, the right wing was assigned to the cavalry of the beglerbegs of Anatoli and Karaman, Sinan, and Seinel Páshá; and the left to the beglerbeg of Romeili, Hasan Páshá, with the Asiatic and European Asabes. In the centre were posted the janissaries, the main strength of the army, and behind them, in the rear, the sultan with the four divisions; he was accompanied by the three vezírs, Hersek Ahmed, the grand vezír, Dukagin Ahmed, and Mustapha. The janissaries barricadoed their position, as usual, by posting in front the baggage and camels; the artillery, a species of force, in which the superiority was so much the greater on the side of the Osmans, as the Persians were altogether deficient in it, formed an impregnable defence behind the Asabes upon the extremities of both wings, while the cannons were fastened together with iron chains. Selim gave orders that the artillery, covered by the infantry, should reserve their fire till the Asabes, coming in contact with the enemy, should at once open to the right and left, and thereby give the artillery free room to play. His army was more than one hundred and twenty thousand strong, among whom were eighty thousand cavalry; but the horses were out of condition, and starved for want of fodder; besides ten thousand janissaries, and as many Asabes, who were, however, weak from sickness, which had been brought on by exposure to a burning sun, together with their scanty

the side of the Osmanlis.

supply of unsound flour and unripe fruit. They were therefore, upon the whole, dispirited and discontented, especially the janissaries. The Persian army was numerically equal, or nearly so, to the Osman in cavalry; and, besides, the Persian cavalry were well fed and well mounted; and among them were ten thousand picked troops, with horses covered with cuirasses, the men wearing steel helmets, from which waved showy crests adapted to inspire terror; and being armed with iron clubs, with bows, and ashen lances, which they grasped in the middle, in the Spanish fashion, all heartily devoted to the sháh, and animated with a zeal for his service, which bordered on the blind obedience of the death-devoted assassins; though the army was defective, not only in infantry, but also in bowmen. Besides Ustajlüoghli, the experienced viceroy of Diarbeker, there were with the army the viceroys of Baghdád and Meshed, of Khorasān and Mogan, and the highest functionary of the law, the presence of the presence, Mir Abdulbaki, the son of Nimetullah, who, after the death of Nejm-ssani, the second star, supplied his place with great ability and honour to Persia. Ismail, who, by an emissary or deserter, had become acquainted with Selim's plan of battle with regard to the masked artillery, divided his army into two parts, with orders that, as soon as the Asabes should open their ranks, his troops should follow their movement, and try to outflank them; thus expecting, on one side or the other, to take the sultan and the janissaries in the rear. He sent one division, under Ustajlü's com-

Ismail's plan of attack.

mand, against the right wing; he himself headed the other against the left of the Osman army. Amidst the war-shout of "Sháh, sháh!" the Persian horse dashed upon that of the Osmans, who steadily received them with shouts of "Allah, Allah!" Ismail happily rendered abortive the sultan's plan of battle by his own; for as soon as the Asabes opened their files, in order to allow the army room for the cannon, he outflanked the sultan, and, consequently, threw the whole left wing of the European cavalry (whose leader, the beglerbeg Hasan, had fallen immediately at the first onset) back upon Selim's body of reserve. To counterbalance this, Sinan Páshá, the beglerbeg, had on the other side repulsed the attack of Ustajlüoghli, for he commanded the Asabes, instead of opening their lines, to retire back upon the guns, and then to jump over and entrench themselves behind the chains which fastened them together. This command being executed with precision caused great havoc among the Persians. The thundering artillery played a destructive fire upon them, which mowed down their ranks in all directions, and with them their commander Ustajlüoghli.

Selim meantime, witnessing the overthrow of his left wing, the bravest part of his army, who with his begs were cut down before his eyes, ordered the entrenched line of baggage and camels to file off, and the Janissaries to open their fire. Thirteen thousand five hundred janissaries discharged seven rounds of musket-shot, and annihilated the Persian cavalry. The sháh was himself wounded in the

Persian defeat.

arm and foot, his horse fell under him, and a Turkish horseman was springing upon him with uplifted spear, when Mirsa Sultan Ali, the trusty confidential friend of the sháh, and armed exactly like him, surrendered himself, exclaiming, "I am the sháh." While the Turkish horseman bound the supposed sháh, one of his own troopers, named Chisr, gave the sháh his horse at the hazard of his own life; an offer which the Sháh Ismail afterwards gratefully acknowledged by erecting a particular sepulchre for Chisr. Ismail fled, and with him the rest of the Persian army, which, like the Osman, had lost its bravest generals. Fourteen Sandjak begs, and as many Persian khans, were left dead on the field. He continued his flight all night, and came at day-break to Tabríz, the inhabitants of which city came to meet him with more curiosity than joy; and as he imagined himself insecure even in his capital, he continued his route to Dergesin. The Persian camp became the prey of the victor, together with many treasures and female slaves, and even the favourite wife of the sháh. The Kuridji, that is, the sháh's bodyguards, or Persian janissaries, were brought before the sultan, and immediately butchered. On the following morning Selim received in solemn divan the congratulations of the vezírs and of the army. This day the army halted to bury the slain, and on the next broke up in the direction of Tabríz, where Selim made his first entry on the thirteenth day after the battle, having purposely taken a circuitous route. Five nights before, the vezír, Dukagin

Flight of the sháh.

Ahmed, the defterdar Piri, and the historian Edrisi, who had formerly been employed as secretary of state in the service of Yakub, the prince of the White Sheep, were despatched forward to Tabríz, in order to take possession of the city, and to arrange every thing for the safe and solemn entry of the sultan. All the prisoners were slaughtered in the camp, and the lives only of the women and children spared. At the station of Vogelfangerwiese (the bird-catcher's meadow) a halt was made for one day; and the Persian Khan Rustem, who had come to do homage to the sultan, accompanied by his two sons and a retinue of a hundred and fifty persons, was executed with all his followers. Two days after, the Kurd Chaled and his train shared the same fate. On the ninth day after the battle, Tabríz was occupied by the vezír Dukaginoghli and the defterdar Piri. On the thirteenth the solemn entry into the city of Tabríz took place, the population coming to meet the sultan as far as Surchab, by way of giving him an honorary reception. Thence he proceeded in state between two ranks of his army lining the road, and entered in triumphant procession the capital of the sháh. In the city a procession of dervishes met him, headed by one to whom the others shewed marked respect. He was the descendant of Timūr, the Prince Bediusseman, that is, the wonder of the age, who, since his father Hussyn (a prince highly celebrated by the great Persian poets Jami and Mir Alishir) had lost the throne of Khorasan, had lived at the court of Sháh Ismail

Selim enters Tabriz.

under the inspection of a dervish. Selim ordered him to be habited as a prince, seated him upon a throne erected near his own person, in honour of the blood of Timūr, assigned him a thousand aspers daily, and afterwards took him with him to Constantinople, where he subsequently died of the plague at Ejüb. Selim behaved with condescension also to Muhammed Hafis of Isfahan, the reader of prayers, remarkable for his beautiful voice; he invited him to go to Constantinople, accompanied by his son Hasanjah, the father of the historian Seadeddin, and bestowed places upon them in the treasury. The magazines of the last great sovereigns of Aserbáijan, the treasures of sultans Abusaid and Yakub were emptied, an inventory was taken in Selim's presence of the trophies of victory, consisting of rich stuffs and costly weapons; the elephants were brought before him, and the jewels carried into the sultan's treasures. On the second day, Friday, Selim attended reading of prayers in the great mosque of Sultan Yakub, a service which was performed in his name, and ordered the restoration of the building, which was in several parts in a state of dilapidation. He looked for the market and beautiful garden of Sultan Yakub, called Heshtbihisht, that is, the eighth paradise. He received a poetical account of the victory in the Persian and Jaghatai languages from the pen of Khoja Isfahani, and despatched an express of the victory of the battle of Chaldiran by especial envoys to his son Suleiman, to the viceroy of Adrianople, to the khan of the Crimea, to the

Sultan of Egypt, and to the Doge of Venice; the messenger to the last of whom was only a spáhi, that is, a trooper who served in the cavalry by feudal tenure. Selim remained in the capital only eight days, giving orders for a thousand of the best and most expert artisans to be selected from the inhabitants, and sent to Constantinople. Deeming himself little secure at Tabríz, either because the inhabitants were sworn enemies of the Sunni, or because the sháh, who was in the neighbourhood, might take him by surprise, he set out for the district of Karabagh, with the intention of wintering in its beautiful plains, which are so abundantly productive in fodder and wood. When the army came to the banks of the Araxes, the janissaries refused to march further, loudly demanding their return homewards; they held up rags on their lances before the sultan, and their licentiousness went so far that they pierced his tent with spears and bullets thrown over his head. For this time he saw himself compelled to give way; but, transferring the blame of the rebellion either really or ostensibly to his vezírs, and attributing it expressly and by name to the insinuations of the third vezír, Mustapha, he commanded one of his mutes on the march in the neighbourhood of Nachshiwan, when he should be unobserved, to cut in two the girths of Mustapha's saddle. The vezír, falling from his horse, became the laughing-stock of the soldiers; and the ridicule which followed, as an infringement of his dignity, was intended as a prelude to the deprivation of his office, which took place

afterwards, in the neighbourhood of Revân, by his removal. The Defterdar Piri filled his place, for which already Selim's exclamation on the day of the battle of Chaldiran had been a favourable omen. He was sent to Beybúrd, to bring necessary supplies of provision. At Kars Selim ordered his staff to proceed towards Georgia, with a view to excite the fears of Janik, who had promised to appear personally in the Osman camp, and had not kept his word. After four days' march in this direction, ambassadors appeared with many presents and provisions, a circumstance which had become in the highest degree necessary, for the scarcity of victuals was so great that a kilo of wheaten meal cost about a thousand aspers. At Erzerûm Selim received the keys of Beybúrd. Biiklü Muhammed, to whom the siege was committed, made a report of the difficulties of it. Selim wrote to the begs of the besieging army; "If the fortress does not fall before I come myself, then you shall answer for it with your heads." This despatch hastened its surrender. The new moon of the fast, towards the end of October, set in with a quantity of snow, on which account the feudal cavalry were three days after left behind with furlough at Uchkilise or Echmiatzin. The surrender of Destberd and Keifi followed that of Beybúrd, and the viceroyalty of the conquered district Erzenjan was given in fief to the conqueror, Biiklü Muhammed, the first master of the horse, together with the addition of Karahissar, Janik, and Trapezus. Three halts further on, the inhabitants of the country threw

themselves with entreaties at the feet of Selim's horse, crying out with indignation, and imprecating curses on the cruelty of his army. Selim pursued the policy which he had already adopted at the beginning of the return, laying the blame, not on the army, but on the vezírs, because it is always easier that a few heads, even of innocent persons, should fall, than many guilty. The tents of the two vezírs, Hersek Ahmed and Dukagin Ahmed, were thrown down over their heads, as a token of their removal from office; and the post of grand-vezír, which had been four times held by the former, was given to the brave eunuch, Sinan Páshá, beglerbeg of Anatoli, who, with as much success as talent, commanded the Osman right wing at the battle of Chaldiran. He was ordered to conduct the troops into winter cantonments at Angúriíh, while the sultan pushed forward to take up his quarters at Amásíah towards the middle of November. On the day on which Selim arrived at Amásíah,* at some distance from the city, he beckoned to him Shehsuwaroghli Ali, the relative and personal enemy of Suleiman, the prince of Sulkadr, and granted him in fief the Sandjak of Kaissarije, with the proposal to conquer that also belonging to his kinsman Suleiman. Shehsuwar threw himself from his horse at the feet of the sultan, and wading through the midst of the deepest snow, he surprised Bozuk, and sent the head of Suleiman to the sultan's gate. The hydra of

* This is the orthography of the translation of Sadik Isfahani; accentuated and *with* the final *h*.

insurrection personified by the janissaries, which had so often reared its head in this campaign, was still restless in winter quarters. The janissaries plundered the houses of the vezír Piri, and of the sultan's reader, Halimi. Selim again made use of the same tyrannic policy, which he had found by experience to be correct and attended with the happiest consequences; for, instead of punishing the ring-leaders, he struck off the head of the vezír Dukagin Ahmed. At Amásíah, too, the heads of the Hungarians and Croats were rolled at the sultan's feet, which Balibeg had sent in as trophies of the unfortunate attack made by the Hungarians upon the castle of Sarno or Havala, which lies at an equal distance from Belgrade and Semendra, as well as those sent by Hajibeg as the fruit of a marauding expedition against Swornik. At last, during the winter, a splendid embassy from Sháh Ismail appeared at Amásíah with many rich presents, in order to obtain the release of his beloved sultaness, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Chaldiran. The embassy was composed of four men of distinguished eminence, illustrious both from their families and offices; viz, the Seid Abdulwahab, the lawyer Ishak, one of the first expounders of the law in Persia, who is celebrated under the name of the lawyer-páshá, the Molla Shukrallah Moghani, and Hamsa Chalfa, one of the pupils and successor of Sheikh Haider. These four dignitaries of the law, the seid, the kadi, the molla, and the sheikh, influenced the tyrant just as little towards granting Ismail's request as their

Selim imprisons four Persian ambassadors.

character of ambassadors; a character held sacred by nations was incapable of moving him to any such considerations of attention and propriety. He sent the seid and the judge to Constantinople, to be imprisoned there in the new castle of the Bosporus; the molla and the sheikh to Demitoka, to be shut up in a tower; and, instead of granting the sultaness her liberty, he, in direct opposition to all the rights of Islam, which allows even the conqueror no power over the lawful wife of a Moslem, gave her as wife to his state secretary, the learned author of his victorious despatches, Tajisade Jafer Chelebi. This betrothing of a woman already betrothed and not divorced, and the imprisonment of the four dignitaries of the law, the seid, that is, the relation of the Prophet; the kadi, that is, the judge; the molla, that is, the explainer of the law; and the sheikh, that is, the contemplative ascetic,—in defiance of their character of ambassadors, and in spite of the two fundamental pillars of the moslem rights of embassy—one of which is, no injury awaits the ambassador; and the other, the ambassador executes only a received commission,—are two historical charges against Selim, from the guilt of which even the Osman historians cannot exculpate him, and which they find themselves less capable of justifying than the murder of prisoners and the massacre of heretics.

CHAPTER VIII.

SELIM (CONTINUED).

Reduction of Kumach—Alaeddewlet, Prince of Sulkadr, defeated and killed—Settlement of affairs of Kurdistan by Edris, the Sultan's commissary—Description and History of Diarbeker, Mardin, Hossn-keif, Nissibin, Mossul, Orfa, and Rakka—Further and final adjustment of Kurdistan.

On the banks of the Euphrates, distant one day's journey from Erzenjan, the castle of Kumach rears its lofty head upon an inaccessible rock. The surrounding district is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, under the name of Gumathene. It is one of the most celebrated fortresses of the Osman kingdom, and was conquered by Timūrtash Páshá, under Bāyezyd the First, but lost soon after to Timūr the Tatar emperor. Kumach is celebrated not merely for the strength of its fortifications, but much more so for its natural productions and the ingenuity of its manufactures. The linen of Kumach has become as proverbial as the sheep of Erzenjan and the females of Beybúrd. But still more famous, though hitherto unknown to European travellers, is the phenomenon of the Egyptian quail, vast numbers of which are seen here in the spring of the year during the rainy season. Either quails, or some other little birds resembling them,

Situation of Kumach.

arrive in such numerous flights as to darken the country all round; and the inhabitants pickle them as articles of food and commerce. Not far from Kumach, in the district of Urla, are mines yielding gold, silver, and copper; and Maaden (that is, the mines of Kumach) is reckoned among the most important mining towns of the same name in the Osman kingdom.

It was not only a point of honour to re-conquer Kumach, by way of restoring to the Osman empire a border-fortress which formerly belonged to it; but it was also a measure necessary to be adopted for the security of Erzenjan and Sivás, which were kept in a state of perpetual annoyance and alarm on the side of Kumach. On this account Selim had already, during the winter-quarters at Amásíah, despatched thence the viceroy of Erzenjan, Biiklü Muhammed, with a besieging force to Kumach, and in the spring set out thither in person, north of Karlögül (snowy lake) and Karajachair (black meadow). Here ambassadors of the Sultan of Egypt appeared with presents, who complained of the investiture of the sandjak of Kaissarije being granted to Shehsuwar, while Shehsuwar's father had been hanged at the gate of Cairo as an enemy of the Egyptian sultan; but Kaissarije and Bosuk belonged to the jurisdiction of the Lord of Sulkadr, who, acknowledging the supremacy of the sultan of Egypt, exercised in his name the royal prerogatives of public prayers and of coinage. Selim dismissed the embassy with a short answer, but one of frightful import: "If

Egyptian embassy to Selim.

the sultan be a man, he may bethink himself how he shall maintain his royal dignity in Egypt." The line of route lay beyond Ortokabad to Sívás, and continued, after one week's rest on the road of Mersisun, to Almalü. Exactly one month after setting out from Amásíah, the sultan presented himself with his army before Kumach, which was stormed in spite of the bravest defence, and garrisoned by a division of troops under the command of Ahmed Beg, the son of Karachin.

The time was now come for chastising the Lord of Sulkadr, whose refusal of auxiliaries in the Persian campaign the year before could not be pardoned. Straight from Sívás, whither Selim had returned on the eighteenth day after the capture of Kumach, he sent the son of Shehsuwar, Alibeg, and the grand vezír, Sinan Páshá, with ten thousand janissaries, against the sovereign of Sulkadr, in order to inflict on him the punishment which he deserved; he himself followed at a short distance, so that, while the grand vezír was at Elbastan, the sultan encamped on the bank of the Injessu, while the sovereign of Sulkadr, Alaeddewlet, lay with his army at Ordeklü. He had provided for the safety of his treasure and his women, by sending them to the steep mountain Turnataghi (that is, the Crane Mountain), and occupied with his Turkmans the passes of the mountain. Sinan Páshá made his way through the plain of Göksun, and the battle was fought at the foot of the Crane Mountain. The hoary Alaeddewlet fell in the engagement, and four of his sons

Alaeddewlet defeated and killed.

were taken prisoners and put to death. His brother Abdurrisak was despatched to the sultan of Egypt with the heads of the brother and nephews, which Selim sent as an accompanying present to the official express in which he announced his victory, by way of warning example. The son of Shehsuwar was invested with the feudal tenure of the district of Sulkadr, and at the same time honoured with the dignity of a vezír, that is, with a standard of three horse-tails; while every horseman in the army received a present of a thousand aspers. Thus ended the war; the troops of Karaman and Anatoli were disbanded at Kaissarije, and the sultan returned to Constantinople, whence he afterwards sent an ambassador to Venice with official notification of his victory and the overthrow of Sulkadr.

While the sultan was residing in the summer at Constantinople, and, during the succeeding winter, at Adrianople, the viceroy of Erzenjan, Biiklü Muhammed Páshá, and the native Kurd Molla Edris, the first great historian of the Osmanlis, were engaged in completing the conquest and the internal regulation of Kurdistan. Selim himself was no less ambitious of being considered a Persian poet, than he was really capable of duly estimating the beauties of Persian poetry and oratory; and it was owing to this taste, that, in spite of his tyranny and sanguinary disposition, he was pleased to have round him men of distinguished literary merit. Hence he was accompanied in his Persian campaign by three of the

greatest scholars of his age, of whose talents he knew how to avail himself, not only for his pleasure or amusement, but also to turn to account in his political projects; and whose services he enlisted for the furtherance of his plans both of conquest and of government. His present attendants were his reader, the philologist Halimi, his secretary of state, and afterwards judge-advocate, the poet and epistolary writer Jafer, and the historian Edris. This latter, a native Kurd, born at Betlis, and formerly secretary of Yakub, prince of the White Sheep, had been sent by Selim from the winter quarters of Amásíah with proposals and written invitations to the different begs of Kurdistan, in order to withdraw them from their allegiance to the sháh, and bring them over to the sultan's interest. Selim made choice of this man both from his being a fellow-countryman of the begs, and from his thorough knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. The hope of favourable results had caused a movement in favour of the Osmanlis in all the cities of Kurdistan, at Amid, Betlis, and Hossn-keif.

After the battle of Chaldiran, the inhabitants of Amid, that is, Diarbeker, had driven out the governor commanding in the name of Ustajlüoghli, who had fallen in battle, and sent messengers to Selim with the offer of submission. At Betlis, Sherefbeg had declared in favour of Selim against Chaledbeg, his brother, who governed the city in the sháh's name. Chaledbeg fell into Selim's hands, and was put to death by him at Marenda.

His sons, headed by the Persian Chalil, the border lord of Chunis, three times came to an engagement with the troops of Sherefbeg, who was obliged to fall back upon Betlis. In doing this he lost a few hundred men, who were frozen to death by cold. Melek Chalil, the Ejubide, whose ancestors were the hereditary lords of the fortresses of Hossnkeif and Saard, had been himself plundered, notwithstanding his being allied by marriage to the sháh, because he had given them in fief to Karakhan, the brother of Ustajlüoghli. Melik Chalil made himself master of Saard, and took possession of Hossnkeif a second time. The Lord of Ssassnu, Muhammed-beg, had seized for himself the jurisdiction of Erzen, which belonged to the Amyr, the sháh's soldier, and had driven away the Persian feudal tenant; in the neighbourhood of Diarbeker, the Seid Ahmed Beg Riski had conquered the fortresses Atak and Miafarakain; and Kasimbeg Merdisi had taken that of Egil, with the support of the inhabitants of Diarbeker. Jemshidbeg Merdisi, who kissed the sultan's foot on the route to Tabríz, and was honoured with a sandjak, had planted the Osman standards on the battlements of Palu; the viceroy of Nejti and Jezire had gained a victory over the Persian troops, and put them to flight in the neighbourhood of Mossul; and Seid Beg, the viceroy of Suran, had made himself master of Erbil and Kerkuk. Besides these nine begs above mentioned, the most considerable of Kurdistan, sixteen others had declared on the side of the sultan of the Osmanlis; and Edris the historian was

despatched as the sultan's commissioner to these twenty-five Kurdish begs, in order to receive their homage in the sultan's name, and to take possession of the northern part of Kurdistan, which had revolted from the Sháh, from its farthest boundary eastward, that is, from Urmia, on the bank of the lake of the same name, the Spauta of Strabo, to the very verge of the most western point, where it touches on Malatíah (Melitene).

In the meantime Sháh Ismail, as soon as he learnt the departure of Selim from Tabríz, again withdrew from Dergesin and Hamudan, whither he had fled, to his capital; and had sent Karakhan, the brother of Ustajlü, as his brother's successor in the páshálik of Diarbeker, to conquer the lost capital of his páshálik. The new páshá proceeded by forced marches with several thousand men on the road of Chabakjur towards Diarbeker, and, taking in the reinforcements of the viceroys of Mardin, Roha, and Hossn-keif, who retained their allegiance to the Sháh, advanced with his united troops and laid siege to Diarbeker. The inhabitants, hard pressed, but resolved upon a vigorous resistance, sent messengers to the camp at Amásíah to beg aid. Selim sent Haji Jekda Ahmed with a detachment of janissaries, who happily threw himself into the city between the besieging army and the Grecian gate, and planted the Osman banners on the walls. Upon the return of the envoys, Edris received a written order from the sultan, which informed him of the embassy of Ismail, of Selim's determination to pay no attention

Diarbeker besieged by the Persians.

to it, and of his resolution to lend immediate succour to the inhabitants of Kurdistan, by the commencement of the siege of Kumach. The sháh sent Kurdbeg, who had been the commander of all Kurdistan previous to the conquest of it by Persia, together with the viceroys of Arjis and Aadaljuvas, and attended by the sons of the slain Chaled, the beg of Bashuhl, against Bedlis and Akhlat, with a view to the relief of Diarbeker. While these were collecting in force round Arjis, Edris combined the troops of the Kurdish Begs of Bedlis, Chairan, Meks, and Ssassnu, who put the others to flight, and took from them a rich booty.

The siege of Diarbeker had now already lasted one year, and the loss which the besieged had sustained, from sallies and accidents, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men; but the Kurds stood out nobly in the defence of their land and their sect, as real Sunni and mountaineers, who for these fourteen years past had been waging perpetual war with their oppressors, the Persians. Upon the arrival of the news that the Osman army had withdrawn again after the chastisement of Alaeddewlet, Edris set out for the sultan's camp with entreaties for speedy and effectual assistance at the earnest solicitation of the begs, who had done homage to the Osman Sultan, and who were hard pressed by the enemy. He did not reach the camp, because a firman overtook him at Hossn-keif, by which the prayer for help was partly fulfilled; and the viceroy of Erzerûm, Biiklü Muhammed, who was then stationed at Beybúrd, was despatched

to the relief of Diarbeker with several thousand men. Edris immediately sent this joyful news to Diarbeker by means of a carrier-pigeon. The Defterdar of the fiefs, Nisameddin Ali, who spent forty days in travelling to and fro, was the bearer of this firman, and of another for Edris, in which he was required to continue by his presence to maintain the union of the Kurdish begs; and he accordingly formed a fresh combination of the neighbouring petty chiefs, in which were included the commandant of Chemishgesek, the beg of Merdisi, the commandant of Palu, Jemshidbeg, the begs of Chabakjur, Bedlis, Hossn-keif, Chairan, Charire, and Ssassnu. Meanwhile, the Persian army, led on by Kurdbeg, had pressed forward on the road of Chabakjur, and had succeeded in the capture of that fortress. Of this Edris gave information to Biiklü Muhammed, who was still at Erzenjan, and represented to him that Hossn-keif would be the most suitable point of rendezvous, where the Kurdish begs should join their troops with the Osmanlis. Edris and the Kurdish begs Kasimbeg, Jemshidbeg, and Hussynbeg, combined their forces, amounting to ten thousand men, in the manner pointed out by Edris, with those of Biiklü Muhammed; they attacked and defeated the enemy, so that they hastily retreated upon Arjis and Aadaljuvas, being thus compelled to relinquish the design of marching upon Amid. The Kurds and Osmanlis continued their route to the besieged capital of Diarbeker. At Esmasek Shadi Páshá, the beglerbeg of Amásiah, was pushing for-

ward to its relief with five thousand men; and when they had come to the black bridge, five hours' march from Amid, Karakhan raised the siege, and took the road towards Mardin. Biiklü Muhammed Páshá took possession of the capital of Diarbeker, which, besides this name, bears also the old name of Amid, or Kara Amid, that is, the black Amid. The city has retained this name from its foundation till the present day. Ammianus Marcellinus, who made a campaign in these parts, like Edris of Bedlis, which he afterwards wrote, gives, like him also from ocular testimony, a narrative of the site and strength of the place. It lies upon the Tigris, at no great distance below its sources, and not much above the mouth of the Nymphius, that is, the river of Miafarakain, or Martyropolis. The Emperor Constantine surrounded Amid with ramparts and towers, and built an arsenal for catapulta, and other engines of attack and defence of fortified places. The Persian king, Sapor, in his own person, soon made trial of those of Amid, bearing upon his head, instead of a crown, a golden ram's head with precious stones. The war-cry of the Persians was then, as it was one thousand two hundred years afterwards, under Sháh Ismail, the name of the king of kings. Twice in two days Sapor assaulted the place, and found the most trusty ally in the plague, which raged with frightful violence within its walls. The towers of the besieging army were burnt by the besieged; but the walls were tumbled down from above and below in different directions at the same time, from

Persians retire.

Former history of Diarbeker.

dams on the outside, as well as by being undermined. The historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, saved himself by flight with part of the garrison. Justinian the First fortified Amid a-fresh, as well as the other border fortresses of the Byzantine empire, on the Persian side, together with the cities of Anastasius and Theodosius (Dara and Reesol-ain), Nisibis and Edessa (Nissibin and Roha), Kirkesion, Kirkesieh, and the city of the martyrs, Miafarakain, all places of celebrity, which in the wars between the Osmanlis and Persians played a no less distinguished part than they had formerly done in those between the Persians and Romans. The second siege by the Persians, under Kobad, was more tedious and wearisome than the first; the siege had already continued three months, already had fifty thousand Persians perished before the walls of Amid, when the Magi prophesied its fall, as a judgment upon the shameless impudence of the women. In a still night the assailants climbed the towers, which were ill guarded by monks drowned in wine and sleep, and at daybreak the storming began. The most frightful carnage ensued: before the sword was sheathed, the Persian blood which had been shed was atoned for by the death of eighty thousand Greeks. Amid was lost to the Persians in the civil wars of the Persian empire, which, during Kobad's reign, Masdek carried on under the banners of freedom and equality, and came into the hands of the Arabians of the tribe of Beker, by whom the surrounding country was called the land of Beker, Diarbeker,

a name henceforth synonymous with that of the city. The sovereignty of the land was lodged in a family called Kende, from whose hands, after a short possession by the Greeks, it passed to an independent Kurdish dynasty, which was succeeded by a Turkman family named Ortok, from whom Timūr wrested it, bestowing it in fief upon his grandson Ebubeker. The dynasty of the White Sheep afterwards possessed it for one hundred years, till Sháh Ismail raised his own power on the ruin of that family; while the issue of the war between Selim and the Sháh subjected it to the Osmanlis. The reason why Amid is called the Black Amid, is obvious at the first sight of it by travellers, from the black colour of the houses and walls, which are all built of black lava. "There are few places (as Mr. Heude observes) that offer a more novel and interesting appearance to the European traveller than this; the rapid stream (the Tigris, so called because Teer in Persian signifies an arrow) almost seems the boundary of life, as, immediately after passing the bridge, the abode of death presents itself on every side, and the stranger is at once surrounded with tombs, and awe-struck at the melancholy gloom of the black marble battlements which encircle the sable pile. From dark lofty porticoes of imposing strength a busy crowd issues forth to complete the illusion; fair, restless, and decked in a thousand colours, they almost appear the beings of another world, enrobed in all their varieties, and revisiting their earthly tenements. In proceeding through the

streets the same impression is kept up; and the wanderer, without any very strong appeal to imagination, may almost fancy himself in the vale of tears, in the palace of enchantment and despair, which the fair Shehersade so well describes." The inscriptions on the black wall, partly Greek, partly Cufic, mention the emperors Valens and Valentinian, and the Arabic princes of the family of Merwan, as its founders and repairers. The seventy-two towers are said to have been built by the empress Eudoxia, in memory of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ. The well of the castle, which Ammianus Marcellinus found drinkable, indeed, but spoiled by the heat of summer, is stocked with fish, to which the old superstition of the worship of fish adopted by the Syrians and Assyrians has been transplanted. Not only always drinkable, but even one of the best of Hither Asia, is the well of Hamrewat, whose water, conducted into the castle from the Karatagh (Black Mountain) lying south of the city, affords a constant supply both to the castle and great mosque. The building of this mosque is ascribed to one of the first generals of Islam, Chaled, the son of Welid; those of later date bear the names of the páshás or sheikhs, their respective founders. The gardens along the banks of the Tigris are annually inundated by it; and melon-plants, with a little pigeon manure, are put into the gravel which is left behind, thus yielding a fruit esteemed the most delicious in Mesopotamia. The royal gardens (Rihanbaghi) are compared by Evlia, the

Turkish traveller, with the most beautiful of Hither Asia, viz. with those of Damascus, Malatiah, Konia, Adalia, and Meroesh. Here are two sepulchres of celebrated men, which are resorted to as objects of veneration by Moslem travellers, that of Chaled the great general, who was the first to support the cause of Islamism in Irak by force of arms, and that of the great Persian historian Lari, who died here as a professor. Diarbeker furnishes chintz, striped silk, and cotton stuffs, and red morocco leather of the most beautiful kind. This latter is prepared by means of the nutgalls which come from Kurdistan, and are deposited here in warehouses. The Egyptian ophthalmia, and those inflammatory pimples of the face so prevalent at Haleb in consequence of the water, are equally prevalent at Diarbeker. The inhabitants are reckoned at fifty thousand.

Mardin.

After the relief of Diarbeker, the combined army of the Kurds and Osmanlis halted three days at Jewsak, where a council of war was held, to determine whether they should hazard an attack on Mardin, the most impregnable of fortresses. Edris was strenuously in favour of the assault; and the more so, because Melik Chalil, the lord of Hossnkeif, had an understanding with a party within the fortress. The summons penned by Edris begun with the verse of the Koran, "All ye, who are believers, enter into the peace, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your avowed enemy." The inhabitants of the city sent the Seid Aali, who settled with Melek Chalil and Edris the terms of

a capitulation, which were, that the gates should be opened and the Persian garrison be delivered up. As soon as the fortress was surrendered, proclamation was made, that all red turbans, as the distinguishing mark of heretics and rebels, were to be collected together at an appointed place; upon which Edris ordered them to be thrown, with every species of mockery and insult, into the common sewer of the city. Thus, by the good understanding maintained with the Kurds, the city of Mardin was conquered, but not the castle, which was by far the strongest natural fortress of the whole Osman empire, and which had twice defied the whole besieging army of even Timūr himself. The flowery historian of the East, the famous orator Arabshah, describes its strength in his usual style of extravagant bombast. "This fortified city," he writes, "resembles the bird Anka (the Phœnix), the height of whose nest bids defiance to pursuit; it is like a prince, whose elder daughter no suitor dares to solicit for his bride, for it looks down upon ridges of mountains, which rise tier upon tier succeeding each other. Its lofty dome is not distinguishable from the canopy of heaven; for as the one is incapable of movement from its situation, so the other stands equally firm and unshaken. Behind the castle is a valley, spacious as the bosom of the just; diversified with gardens, which are watered by the most delicious streams; abounding in pastures for the feeding of cattle, and in park-enclosures for the diversion of the chase; crowned with rugged precipitous heights, which

the most enterprising have never reached, and rocks so numerous and crowded as to baffle every effort of the human mind to take in at one comprehensive view. The road to the castle leads upwards in a continuous rise from fort to fort, and from one gate to another. The castle itself is skirted by one side of the city, whose inhabitants are maintained by the superfluities of the citadel, and the copious streams which pour downwards from it. It is alike independent of help from friends, and impregnable to the assaults of enemies; for it is fostered by nourishment from heaven."

Mardin is the old Marde or Marida, which Ammianus Marcellinus, and Theophylact, mention as one of the castles of Mount Izale. This mount is the eastern extremity of that range of mountains which, rising here in the desert in the direction from west to east, and branching out towards the Tigris, was from the most remote period called, from its groves of oaks, Masu or Masius, and is now called Judi or Gioudi. Manna is collected from its bushes, and from the rocks crystal is dug out. On this range, according to the Moslem tradition, Noah's ark is said to have rested, just as, according to the Christian story, it stopped on Mount Ararat (the Abos of Strabo). As far as this place, and to Mount Lebanon, the Persian king Arsaces the Fifth transported the people of Mardi, who had been vanquished by him—a people equally brave and obstinate, from whom the city, situated on the western extremity of the mountain, was named by him Marde or Mardin.

The Mardi, whose restless rebellious disposition the old historians and geographers notice, appear to have belonged to one of the oldest sects in Persia, which worshipped merely the evil principle; whereas the Jesidees, their descendants, who now inhabit Mount Masius and the environs of Lebanon, worship only the devil, just as the Shemsi, or Sun-worshippers, living close to them at Mardin as genuine Sabians, worship only the sun. No where in the whole Osman empire do so many different religious sects and parties live together so peaceably, in such a narrow compass, as at Mardin: Sunni, Shii, Catholic and Sectarian Armenians, Christians of the Greek church, Jacobites, Christians of St. John, Chaldeans, Jews, Shemsi, Guebers, and Jezidis — that is, worshippers of the sun, fire-worshippers, and worshippers of the devil. In this way, different sects live in Mardin over each other's heads, for the houses all rise one story over another. Mardin has been long distinguished for the peculiarity of its situation, the style of its buildings, and the variety of its inhabitants; and still more for the character of being impregnable—a character to which it seems entitled, from never having been taken by force of arms, at least as far as can be ascertained from history.

Edris, who had with so much dexterity and success preserved unbroken the union of the Kurdish begs, found himself incapable of adjusting the difference which arose between the generals of the Osman army, Biiklü Muhammed Páshá and

Shadi Páshá. The latter loudly maintained that his orders were to advance only as far as Diarbeker, and no further; and, in spite of all the representations of Edris and Chalil the Ejubide, he set off with his corps, consisting of five thousand men, from Jewsak to Diarbeker, instead of Mardin. Edris intimated the disunion of the generals to the Porte, and the necessity of a larger reinforcement, which consequently became doubly pressing. At the commencement of the spring, therefore, an Osman reinforcement of twenty thousand men appeared, among which were one thousand Janissaries, six thousand men under the command of Chosrew Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Karaman, the Spáhis and Salihdars to the number of five thousand, headed by Baliagha. Karakhan, the Persian commandant, as soon as he heard of the disagreement of the Osman generals, moved forwards again to Mardin, and sent six hundred picked Kurchi through the passes of Sumi and Kerkuk towards Baghdád, in order to reach Mardin on this side, because all the other avenues were occupied by Kurdish begs devoted to the Osmans. These six hundred life guards of the sháh, with the corps of the begs of Ameran, Gülsheher, and others, to the number of two thousand strong, fell in with an Osman troop of some few hundreds in the plain of Sinjar, among whom, besides the Kurdish begs of Jezirè Omar and Kerkuk, was also one of the sons of the historian Edris, Abulmewahib Chelebi. They fortunately broke through the enemy, of whom a few hundred were left dead

on the field. The city of Mardin had, after the departure of Shadi Páshá, again opened its gates to the Persians, who, without being in possession of the castle, and even in possession of Hossn-keif, pushed on from Diarbeker to Kerch, which lay between the two, and which was perpetually harassed by the Osmanlis. The twenty thousand men who composed the reinforcement of the Osmanlis, under the command of the Beglerbeg of Karaman, were come to Diarbeker; and Edris urged, in the strongest manner, upon Biiklü Muhammed the necessity of attacking the enemy with their present combined force. Biiklü, not attending to his representation, posted himself at the bridge between Diarbeker and Kerch, and sent out a few thousand men, under the orders of Hussyn-beg, the commandant of Charpurt, to ravage the country, with express orders to fall back again upon the bridge, in case of being met by a superior force of the enemy; but this was about the time of the rainy season in the spring, when the ground was swampy, and the roads impassable. On the day of the eight stars, which the soldiers and Turks consider a day of great importance, this plundering party was pursued by the Persians, attacked, and thrown into the river Tigris. Out of the whole number, scarcely a thousand men saved their lives by swimming. Contented with this victory for the present, the Persians pushed on towards Bire, in order to attach to themselves the Turkman tribes of Diarbeker, who wintered there. They halted at Karghandede, in the neighbourhood of the old city

Kochhissar; here the army of Karakhan encountered the Osman forces, which at last had marched out of Diarbeker, and a general engagement ensued. The Osmanlis were divided into two parties, one of which, on the right wing, amounting to six thousand strong, consisted of the combined cavalry of Anatoli and Karaman, commanded by Beglerbeg Chosrew Páshá; the left, four thousand strong, was composed only of the Kurdish begs, including also the historian Edris. In the front of both these divisions, and in the centre, Biiklü Muhammed Páshá posted himself with twenty thousand janissaries. In the Kurdish division to the right stood the four begs of Hossn-keif, Ssassnu, Shirwanat,* and Egil; and on the left the four begs of Betlis, Nemran, Atak, Chemisgesek, and others. Karakhan, the Persian commander, when he saw the janissaries and artillery in the front of the battle, by their superiority in which the battle of Chaldiran had been determined in favour of the Osmanlis, knew that here every assault was in vain, and he followed therefore the same plan as Sháh Ismail had done on the very day of his defeat. He divided his force into two parts, with one of which he intended to take the Osmanlis on the right wing, and with the other on the left, the Kurds, as well as the centre, which was composed of the whole force of the janissaries and the artillery. He had committed his wife, the sister of Ismail, all alone and unaccompanied by any of her women, to a Turkman tribe; and her whole train of women,

Battle of Kochhissar.

* The Shirak of Kinneir; — or the next stage, Kedluk Shamaki.

dressed like men, he had mustered together and put in amongst the cavalry. Karakhan and Hussyn Janibeg, the sháh's nephew, fought on the left wing of the Persians opposite the Osmanlis; while, opposed to the Kurds on the right, the commandant of Hamudan, Dergesin, took his post with three hundred select Kurchi, or life-guards of the sháh. Karakhan assailed the Osman right wing, and would have turned it, if Biiklü Muhammed had not moved forwards with his janissaries to its support. Karakhan fell, struck by a musket-ball. On the left wing, where the Kurds were stationed, the battle was more fierce and of longer duration, being disputed with the greatest obstinacy. Hussyn, beg of Chemisgesek, was hard pressed, and on the point of giving way, when he was saved by the begs of Hossnkeif and Betlis rushing forward to his aid at the earnest instance of Edris. With their united force they renewed the fight, drove back the enemy, and pursued them on the road to Mardin, which was between two and three parasangs distant. The Persian army was broken, and fled in every direction; part escaped through the wide plain of Sinjar, others, with the sháh's sister, the widow of Karakhan, beyond Mossul and Kerkuk to the sháh. After this victory, the Kurdish castles of Arghana, Sinjar, Jermik, Birejik, surrendered, and the city of Mardin for the second time; but the castle was as little to be induced to capitulate now as at the first surrender of the city. The commandant was Suleiman Khan, the brother of Ustajlü, who had been left dead in the battle of Chaldiran, and of Karakhan, who had

fallen in the battle of Kochhissar. He answered the summons to surrender by replying, " That the fortress was intrusted to him as a pledge by Sháh Ismail, and that as such he would defend it." It was consequently besieged in form by the Osmanlis. For more than a whole year, however, all the efforts of the assailants were useless; and Mardin did not surrender till, in the Syrian campaign of Selim, after the fall of Haleb and Damascus, Büklü Muhammed was sent against it from Syria with a fresh army and artillery. Büklü Muhammed rewarded the spirit of its gallant and vigilant defenders by a general massacre; and the head of Suleiman Khan was rolled at the sultan's feet, as the heads of his brothers Ustajlü and Karakhan had been before.

Hossnkeif.

After Diarbeker and Mardin were in possession of the Osman power, the conquest of the fortress of Hossnkeif, and of the cities of Roha, Rakka, and Mossul, was yet wanting to give that possession security. Hossnkeif, that is, the Castle of Mirth, or the Forgetfulness of Cares, was formerly also called Gilkerd by the Persians, out of which the Arabians made (by an alteration of the first half of the name) Rasgul, that is, Demon's or Medusa's Head. All these appellations have reference, either in the terms themselves, or in allusion to fact, to another appellation of this castle, under which it occurs more than once in the Byzantine historians, and that is, its name of the Castle of Oblivion,—a name assigned to it on account of a state prison, which the Greeks call Lethe, because the persons

confined in it for life were consigned to perpetual oblivion. This old name appears to have given rise to the modern Arabic name of the Castle of Forgetfulness of Cares; and the older name, Demon's Head, is indicative either of the horrors of this dungeon, or the frightful appearance with which the castle, from the towering rocks on which it stands, seems to menace all below. The old dungeons, which were hewn in rocks, now furnish the inhabitants with commodious dwellings in winter, and in summer are converted by them into stables.* Hossnkeif is built on the eastern bank of the Tigris, not far from the mouth of the Ersen, across which is thrown one of the prettiest bridges of the Osman empire, no less famous than the excellent grapes which grow in the place.

Together with Amid, Mardin, Sinjar, and Hossnkeif, the other celebrated cities of Diarbeker, that is, of the greatest part of northern Mesopotamia, inhabited by Kurds, came into possession of the Osmanlis: as Nissibin, Dara, Miafarakain, and Jeziré-Omar, as well as the tribes of Rusheni, Hariri, Sinjaii, Ssachlri, Jezerewi, and the Arabic tribe of Mewali, consisting of the surrounding wandering hordes. As modern Persia perpetually maintained, from its contiguity, relations of peace and war with the Osmanlis, so also did the old Persian empire with the Romans and Byzantines in this part of Hither Asia; their line of demar-

* The position of this place on the map, contrary to the text, forms the subject of a note in the Appendix, which will make up Vol. II. of the present work.—T.

cation being the Nymphius, which streams into the Tigris from the north, or the river of Miafarakain, now called the Golden River. Here lie the extensive plains rendered illustrious by the overthrow of consuls and emperors. Here rise the fortresses which, built to repel the Persians, at one time conquered by them, and at another time given back, so often changed their possessors: none of them oftener than Nisibis, the capital of the old Mesopotamia, first known to the Romans in the campaign of Lucullus against King Tigranes; and at the conclusion of the peace restored to him with other cities of Mesopotamia; afterwards, in later times, conquered by the emperor Trajan, and again given back by Adrian. It was fortified and adorned by Severus, and in the second century the Persian power was wrecked at Nisibis, as the strongest bulwark of the East. It was thrice besieged by Shapoor the Second; once for fifty days, a second time for eighty days, and lastly for a hundred days, with greater expense, and loss, and vigour, than on any former occasion. The Tigris, swelled by sluices, was raised to a level with the height of the city walls; and, instead of besieging towers and scaling ladders, a fleet lay close to the walls on the newly contrived sea, which swallowed up the ponderous Persian cavalry, while thousands of the bowmen were trampled down in different directions by the enraged elephants, to the amazing joy of the inhabitants of this impregnable town, who were animated by their bishop to the boldest and most vigorous defence. It was not surren- Nisibis.

dered to the Persians till after the unfortunate defeat of Julian, when it was transferred to them by his successor Jovian, upon the conclusion of a peace, together with Singara and other border fortresses. Nissibin upon the [Hermas,* or] Mygdonius, is at present sunk into an insignificant village, though the foundations of the old walls and lonely towers are still standing. Owing to its desolate ruins, it has obtained the name of the capital of Jinnistan, or the abode of demons or genii, and is called the country of the twofold species of creatures, that is, of men and genii, against whom the wandering pilgrim begs help at the places here pointed out to him as bearing the impress of the footsteps of Noah, Esdras, and Job, or as holy cities pretended to be dedicated to them. From Nissibin one catches a glimpse of Dara, which lies eight hours from it on the road to Mardin, built by the Emperor Anastasius, as a border-fortress after the loss of Nissibin, and to which the emperor Justinian added other fortifications. From the wall, which is still standing, sixty feet high and ten broad, and from the ruins of palaces and churches, Dara even now exhibits a skeleton representation of a Roman and Byzantine border-fortress, in a better state of preservation than any other town on the further side of the Euphrates. Amidst their ruins the travelling Moslem looks at this day only for the sepulchres

* From this it should seem that M. Hammer identifies the Hermas with the Mygdonius. Why we presume to differ with him is a discussion reserved for Vol. II.—T.

of a Kurdish saint and of Ezekiel. Dara was once called, from its builder, the city of Anastasius, just as Miafarakain was called the city of martyrs. Like Nisibis lying on the Mygdonius, the capital of Mygdonia, Miafarakain on the Nymphius was the capital of the district Sophene, like that surrounded by beautiful gardens, and famous for the church of St. Sergius, of whom not only the Grecian but also the Persian emperors were devoted followers. The source of the basin (Ainol-haus) is at no great distance from the city, which no European traveller has hitherto visited. A far more inviting object of inquiry presents itself to him than the pretended graves of the prophets, or the remembrance of the three hundred martyrs, from whom the city takes its name, in the grave of Seifeddewlet, the great prince of the family Hamdan, the sword of the kingdom, so highly extolled by Motenebbi.

Jezire Ibn Omar.

On the eastern boundary of the district Diarbeker, or the northern Mesopotamia, is the island of Omar, surrounded by the Tigris, which is called by way of distinction the island on a small scale, as the term Mesopotamia is applied in a larger sense. The Tigris here divides itself into two parts, and surrounds the city, which is built upon the island, the old Thomanum. The chalif, Omar Abdolasis, raised an embankment against the river, and from his name the town and island are now called Jezire Omar. The wall, composed of black stones, like the walls of Diarbeker, is now for the most part in ruins; on the western side beautiful

and fruitful gardens are well watered by a copious stream; the Kurdish inhabitants sing in melancholy strains the beauty of the waves of the Tigris and Chabur; they point out as the curiosities of their city pretended graves of chalifs and imams, who rest elsewhere; and the gigantic tomb of the premature birth of Noah's wife, of which she was delivered in the ark. As soon as the ark was settled upon the rock within sight of the city, near Gurgil, close to mount Judi, Gioudi, or Giordi (Masius), and the family of Noah was landed on the spot Kariet-semanin, that is, the castle of eighty, lying close to the city on the western side, this corpse was interred here—the first corpse buried after the flood, if we are to believe those traditionary juggling tales about the prophets.

With better pretensions than to such graves, Jezire lays claim to the honour of being the birth-place of many of the greatest scholars of Islam, who from their birth-place are all called Jezeri, as the Annalist, the Philologist, the Commentator on the Koran, and the Historian. As this island on a small scale, surrounded by the Tigris, is called Jezire, so also the land lying between the Tigris and Euphrates, Mesopotamia, bears the same name Al-Jezire, that is, the island; by far the largest of the fifteen Jezires known to the Arabic geographers. The Arabians divide it into three districts, called after the names of three founders of tribes, viz. the land of Rebia, of Masar, and of Beker. Beker, the son of Wail, established himself in the northern part of the island, still called after him,

whose principal cities have been already described. Rebia and Masar, the sons of Nesar, divided between them the southern part of Mesopotamia, so that the former selected Mossul on the Tigris as his capital, on the eastern frontier; the latter settled on the western border at Rakka on the Euphrates. These also, with the places dependent on them, were conquered by Biiklü-Muhammed, and attached to the Osman empire. The capital of the district of Rebia, or of the modern páshálik of Mossul, is the city of the same name, with seven towers and twenty mosques, one of which is remarkable for a hanging-tower, like that of Pisa. Mossul stands very near the site of the old Nineveh; like the cities before mentioned, it is peopled chiefly by Kurds, amongst whom, however, the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages are equally current as their own mother tongue. One of the most celebrated prophets of antiquity, and one of the most famous saints of the middle ages, Jonas and St. George, share the veneration of the place, which is full of the story of their miracles, prophecies, sufferings, and combats. The most beautiful old mosques were built by the Atabeg, Seiseddin Ghasi, and the daughter of Nureddin. From this city, Mossul, is derived the name of muslin, as the name of baldachin from Baghdád; and the pomegranates of Shus, or Susa, which lies on a mountain upon the eastern side of the Tigris, are as famous as the lilies of Susiana. East of Mossul is the source of the draw-well, and south that of a warm mineral water; the former is

covered with indigo plants, the latter with a dark perfumed resin.

The cities of the district of Masar lay claim to our attention from the numerous historical recollections connected with them. The capital of it is Roha, or Orfa, the old Edessa, or Kallirhoe, the capital of the páshálik of the same name. There
Roha. is a large lake fed by the beautiful spring Kallirhoe, the fish of which were probably formerly the goddess Astarte; these are now consecrated to the memory of Abraham, whose paradise of roses tradition places here in the glowing fires of the funeral pile, into which Nimrod ordered him to be thrown. Edessa stood in equal repute for sanctity in the middle ages, on account of the great King Avgar, who, a Christian, is said to have corresponded by letter with Christ. The inhabitants have been, since Alexander's time, a mixture of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians, though this does not prevent the purest Syriac, the Amharic dialect, being spoken at Edessa. The Arabs extol the city as the site of the purest Arabic dialect; and there is a Persian school besides the Arabian, in a very flourishing state. Antoninus Caracalla sent the last King of Edessa, Avgar, in chains to Rome, but himself died in the capital of the vanquished enemy. Still more fatal was Edessa to the Emperor Valerian, who wished to relieve the city when besieged by Shapoor the First; but he was defeated before the gates of Edessa, and taken prisoner. The Emperor Justinian repaired the ruined fortifications, though the repulse of the

Persians, who besieged the place under Chosroes Nushirwan, is ascribed less to the strength of the walls and the gold and the courage of its defenders, than to the wonderful picture of the Saviour, which, after the lapse of five hundred years, made its appearance with a pretended letter from Christ to King Avgar; the former existence of which, as a real portrait, is just as credible as that of Saint Veronica, which later times substituted as its representative. The veneration bestowed on the picture did not, however, hinder the Christian legions, who revolted under the Emperor Maurice, from pelting it with stones. This marvellous image, which had the credit of rendering the city invincible against the Persians, could not defend it against the Arabs. Edessa and the whole district was subject to the sceptre of the chalifs of the houses Ommia and Abbas, afterwards to the princes of the Arab dynasties, Hamdan and Okail; wrested from them by Baldwin, the founder of the Christian principality of Edessa, which lasted for half a century, till Amadoddin Sengi again conquered it, and again transferred its administration to the prince of the dynasty of Okail in the name of his followers. After the extinction of the chalifs and the conquest of Hulagu, one branch out of the seven, into which the Kurdish dynasty of Ejub was divided, reigned in Mesopotamia, whose last lord was defeated and put to death by Usunhasan, the lord of the White Sheep. The dynasty of the White Sheep was succeeded by the dominion of Sháh Ismail, which in its turn gave way to that of the Osmans.

Rakka.

The second most important city of the district of Rebia, or Sandjak of Roha, is Rakka, that is, Nicephorium, where Rebia originally settled. As Edessa was called Kallirhoe, or the beautiful stream, so this city bears the name Callinicum, or the beautiful victory, one of the strongest border-fortresses, and best trading-towns of the Byzantine kingdom; and, after being repaired by Justinian, was beautified by Harūn Al-rashid with a palace, the ruins of which are still visible. Below Rakka, upon the very bank of the Euphrates, and, indeed, at the mouth of the Chabur, on the same river, lies Kirkesia, unchanged in name, the Kirkesium of the Byzantine kingdom, and probably the old Karchabesa, where the Egyptian king Necho drew up his army in array against Nebuchodonosor. Above Rakka again, upon the bank of the Euphrates, the river and the great pass are defended by two castles, Bir or Birejik, the old Birtha, and Dar-Rum or Kalaat-Rum, that is, the house or castle of the Greeks, formerly called Thapsacus or Zeugma, that is, the union, because here is the point of intercourse between the countries on each side of the Euphrates; the most famous of the fourteen Kalaa or castles with which oriental geography is acquainted. A name still more celebrated in history than the four river- and border-fortresses above mentioned, is presented to us in that of Harran, lying between Orfa and Nissibin, where Abraham established himself when he came from Ur, the Charran of scripture, the Carræ of the Romans, a spot of frightful recollection, as im-

mortalised by the disastrous overthrow of Crassus. The inhabitants still point out upon a hill in the neighbourhood of the city the temple of the Sabaans, that is, of the moon, in which Julian sacrificed on his march, according to the usages of the country. But hitherto no inquirer into the history and geography of scripture has looked for the hill of Harran and the plain of Sennaar, and the relics of the old Sabaism, in the ruins of the temple of the moon and the pillar behind Singara, though they have no fewer demands upon the curiosity of European travellers than the three hundred sources of the Chaboras, as yet traced by none of them, at a place which was afterwards called Reesol-ain, that is, the fountain-head, at the time of the Byzantine empire; but which was called Theodosiopolis, in honour of the emperor Theodosius, because he fortified and beautified it.

The districts of Beker, Masar, and Rebia, which, comprehending nearly the modern pásháliks of Diarbeker, Roha, and Mossul, and situated between the Tigris and Euphrates, make up the northern Mesopotamia, were also subjected to the Osman power by the exertions of Biiklü Muhammed and the historian Edris; and the official ratification of the arrangement, which had been in the mean time adopted and proposed, was waited for from the Porte. This ratification at length arrived in the shape of an honorary diploma to Edris, the especial commissioner for settling the affairs of Kurdistan, accompanied with twenty-five thousand ducats in gold, seventeen flags, and five hundred

robes of honour for distribution among the begs, who, by acting in concert with him, had forwarded his measures. The distribution of them was committed to Edris, who presently subdivided the páshálik of Diarbeker into sandjaks, in the same way as, in the following year, Roha and Mossul were subdivided after their conquest.

Hereditary and independent sandjaks in Kurdistan.

The peculiar condition of this part of Kurdistan, in which there used to be before quite as many independent lords as castles, whose occupation was brought about only by a partial understanding, but still more the circumstance that the entire subjection of it, and the maintenance of absolute sovereignty in so distant a frontier, would be impossible amidst the headstrong and independent spirit of the Kurdish castle-holders, made an adjustment necessary, which differs from all other lands of the Osman empire, and which has continued to the present day inviolate in this boundary of the empire, inhabited as it is by barbarian and warlike clans. The adjustment consists in this, that out of nineteen sandjaks, of which the páshálik of Diarbeker is composed, only eleven were given in fief in the usual way of all other Osman investitures, but the eight remaining páshálíks were under the peculiar nomination of the five Kurdish districts with particular privileges; and, in short, in the hereditary occupation of the families who possessed them. This division of independent possessions among numerous lords obtains more or less in every mountainous country which happens to abound in castles and towers, whose walls, from

their security and unassailable situation, contribute to foster the spirit of the inhabitants naturally inclined to war. The two extreme mountain borderlands of the Osman empire, both the eastern and western, Kurdistan and Bosnia, are in this respect on a par with each other; for, in Bosnia there were once (and this is still the case in some measure) as many lords as castles: but the Bosnian castles being more within the grasp of power from their neighbourhood to Europe, have fewer and less urgent claims to respect and forbearance than the distant Asiatic fortresses; so that whatever independence may be affected on the western frontier, this peculiarity of investiture of hereditary sandjaks at least remains entirely confined to that regulation, which affects only the eastern frontier.

Kurdistan, that is, the land of the Kurds, a people characterised from the oldest time down to the present day as warlike and predatory, comprehends the whole mountain range of land from the Orontes (Elwend) to the very sources of the Euphrates. All this tract of country was once subject to Persia, whereas now this is the case with only the smallest part of it, viz. the páshálik of Kermanshah, which is called Persian Kurdistan. By far the greatest part acknowledges the Turkish jurisdiction. The central part of Turkish Kurdistan is the páshálik of Shehrsor, which was first conquered with Baghdád under Suleiman the First; but the people of the Kurds extended through the whole of northern Mesopotamia, to the border of Armenia, to the lakes of Van and Akhlat, to the

Murad (the eastern arm of the Euphrates), and to Moush (the old Moxoene). In Xenophon's time, locked up in Korduene, that is, in Kurdistan Proper, the tribes of Korduene, Karduchi, Kadusii, or Kyrti, overflowed in later time the plain of south-east Armenia, and of northern Mesopotamia, that is, Diarbeker. Oriental tradition, from the remotest antiquity, represents them (though forming rather an indiscriminate mixture of barbarous tribes) as deriving their descent from the Persians, who fled hither to the mountainous country from the tyranny of Sohak, while their language points out their origin as Indian or East-Median. Among their multiplied tribes, whose number is given at seventy-two (one of that favourite number of the division of sects, tongues, and parts, which belonged originally to a single tribe) are the Jesidees, or worshippers of the devil, the most remarkable, because their capital at Mardin indicates their relationship with the old Mardi. Their worship of the devil points to the old Persian heresy of the worship of the evil principle. After them the Hakari, Sibari, Haleti, Hariri, Rusheni, and Bochti, are oftenest mentioned in history and geography, as original tribes; others take their name merely from the places which they inhabit, as the Bidlisi, Amadi, Sinjari, Gurgili, Auniki, Jeserewi, of the cities Bidlis and Amadia, of the castles Gurgil and Aunik, of the plain of Sinjar, and the island of Omar. They live under the jurisdiction of their hereditary lords of tribes, whose word is law, and decides upon life and death.

These heads of clans are usually attended by a numerous retinue; their favourite talk is about the antiquity of their families, which they trace back to Noah; their darling passion is splendid and excellent weapons; their amusements consist in martial exercises in arms, or in melancholy songs of the mountains and rivers of the country; their dress of striped parti-coloured stuffs. All this brings to recollection the Scotch Highlander with his clan, plaids, and songs of Ossian. Freedom in their mountains is valued above all other things by the inhabitants of Kurdistan, as is universally the case with mountaineers. The most renowned heroes of the old Persian story and the new Persian romance were Kurds, as Rustem, Behram Chobin, Gurgin Milud, and Ferhad, the singularly fortunate and equally unfortunate favourite of the beautiful Shirin. And, finally, of Kurdish extraction was the great Salaheddin, (Saladin) the hero of the Crusaders, the founder of the power of the house of Ejub, which, in seven branches, reigned over Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia; and whose last descendant, Chalil the Ejubide, the lord of Hossnkeif, the brother-in-law of Shâh Ismail, from henceforth received in fief the sovereignty of his castle Hossnkeif, as an Osman sandjak. The historian, Edris, installed him in the name of the sultan, according to the old customary solemnity, with standards and kettle-drums, sabres and horse-tails. He himself received, as the reward of his service in the settlement of the affairs of Kurdistan, — a service which he performed with as much

fidelity as skill,— an honorary diploma from the sultan, together with a present of two thousand Venetian ducats, eight honorary dresses, and a gold sabre in a sheath of cloth of gold. The diplomas for the sandjak begs were despatched to him with a carte-blanche, so that he filled them up at his pleasure. When Biiklü Muhammed, at the opening of the Egyptian campaign, came back again to his páshálik of Diarbeker, for the purpose of conquering its capital, Edris was recalled. He accompanied the sultan in his Egyptian campaign, as he had done in his Persian; but his further political services were prevented by his death, which took place soon after the conquest of Cairo. Under no circumstances could he have been possibly employed so advantageously for the adjustment of Egypt, as in that of his native country Kurdistan, whose former sovereigns he served, and whose political relations were intimately known to him in his capacity of state-secretary to the Lord of the White Sheep. Thus was northern Mesopotamia, which was once divided into the lands of Beker, Masar, and Rebia, and now parcelled out into the páshálíks of Diarbeker, Orfa, and Mossul, added to the Osman empire in consequence of the Persian campaign, and the victory of Chaldiran; and the dominion of Osman in Hither Asia had now, for the first time, secured a firm footing, by having extended its boundaries to the Tigris and Euphrates. The Romans did not imagine their dominion in Asia to be sufficiently extended and secured before their legions stood on the banks of

the Euphrates. This river, and not the Tigris, furnishes that natural boundary which is, of all others, the best suited to two great kingdoms ever disposed to mutual hostilities, viz. the line of demarcation drawn by water. The Tigris, uniting itself into one large body, formed by two great branches streaming, the one on the eastern side from Bedlis, and the other on the western from Diarbeker, affords no water-boundary so regularly and so accurately defined. As the Romans and the Byzantines bore arms on the other side of the Euphrates, the Nymphius, that is, the river pouring down from Miafarakain (Martyropolis), constitutes the boundaries of both empires, to which only the fortresses erected in the neighbourhood gave any security. A far more secure and more definite line of limitation is furnished by the Euphrates, whose eastern upper arm, the Murad (the Omiras of the ancients), flowing from east to west, encloses and borders upon the north of Mesopotamia or Al-Jesire. The secure dominion both of republican and imperial Rome reached to the Euphrates; to the Euphrates the Crusaders extended their power, when their banners waved from the walls of Edessa; and if, at any future period, the barbarians retrograde again from Europe to Asia, the Euphrates will again be the natural boundary-line of Asiatic and European dominion.

CHAPTER IX.

SELIM, (CONCLUDED.)

War with the Egyptian Sultan, Ghawri—Selim's brutal Treatment of Egyptian Ambassador—Battle of Merj Dabik—Egyptian Forces routed—Khanssu Ghawri dies—Haleb submits to the Osman Sultan, with all Syria—Description of Haleb—Egypt subdued—Selim's Death and Character.

During the winter in which Biiklü Muhammed and Edris were, partly by force of arms and partly by negotiation, making Selim master of Kurdistan, and regulating its government, as his representatives, the sultan continued at Adrianople meditating new wars and victories. Early in the spring he had ordered the grand vezír, Sinan Páshá, to set up his quarters at Kaissarije with an army of forty thousand men, whence he was to advance through the territory of Meroesh to the Euphrates. Sinan Páshá sent intelligence to the court that the Sultan of Egypt, as Sháh Ismail's ally, threatened either to obstruct the march by means of his begs commanding on the frontiers, or to fall upon the army in the rear. Selim accordingly consulted with his vezírs in the divan; on which occasion Hersek Ahmed Páshá enraged the sultan by telling him how he had been warned by Sultan Kaitbai, when he was his prisoner, that the Osmans should

never in future approach near the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, for that the power of the Egyptian sultan effectually closed against them all access. The Nishanjibashi Muhammed, on the other hand, gave it as his opinion that the right of patronage of the two holy cities should be obtained by the sword; in other words, that war should be declared against Egypt. Selim's own ambition concurring with this opinion, the war with Egypt was resolved on; though, not to violate the expression of the Koran, "And we punish not till an embassy be sent," the páshá Karaja, and the learned judge-advocate of Romeili, Sireksade Mewlana Rukneddin, were appointed ambassadors. Upon Selim's arrival at Konia, where he visited the sepulchres of the mystic sheikhs, he received, with the head of Karakhan, the last Persian viceroy of Diarbeker, the intelligence that the country was entirely subdued, and marched forwards to Ilbessan. Y. of H. 922. A.D. 1516.

The Sultan of Egypt, Kanssu Ghawri, had, in the meantime, advanced with fifty thousand men to Haleb in Syria, when Selim's ambassadors met him. He gave them a very ungracious, and even contumelious reception, and ordered them to be thrown into irons; but when he heard of the approach of Selim, he dismissed them with proposals of peace, offering his mediation between Selim and Sháh Ismail. They found the sultan, early in August, encamped at Bujakdere. Nine days afterwards, the encampment was at Merzeban, where the commandant of Aintab, Junisbeg, having de-

serted from the Egyptian sultan, and come over to Selim, persuaded the army to proceed from Aintab to Haleb, for which ten marches were computed. The Beg of Brusa, Koji-beg, and Ferhad-beg, were sent forward as the advanced guard of the army, to reconnoitre and bring in prisoners. Sultan Ghawri had sent one of the generals of his army, Mogholbai, with a magnificent retinue to Selim, intimating that he wished once more to persuade him to come to an amicable arrangement of differences. When Selim, upon admitting him to an audience, saw the ambassador in his beautiful and splendid accoutrements, he exclaimed, in a furious passion at the glittering warlike parade: "Could Ghawri, then, find no civilian capable of executing the embassy?" Without deigning to hear the ambassador's harangue, or receive his credentials, he commanded him and his whole train to be beheaded. This order had been already executed on the ten persons composing the ambassador's retinue, when Junis Páshá threw himself at the feet of the sultan, and entreated him to spare the ambassador himself. Selim did so; but he ordered the ambassador's beard and hair to be cut off, and a nightcap to be put on his head, and in this condition he sent him back to his master on a lame diseased ass. This treatment of the embassy, by which all the rights of ambassadors recognised amongst eastern despots were trodden under foot, was the prelude of the numerous scenes of barbarity with which the Egyptian war is stained.

Meantime, Ghawri had advanced with his army

through Syria; and the two sultans met, eager for the engagement, in the neighbourhood of Haleb, on the plain of Dabik, a spot held in veneration by the Moslems as the sepulchre of David. The battle was neither long nor bloody; and won by the Osmans, owing not more to the preponderance of their artillery, with which the Egyptians were as ill-furnished on the present occasion as the Persians had before been at Chaldiran, than to the cowardice and inactivity of the Mamelukes (Jelban), who, in the mistaken idea that the sultan had given the Korsan (the mercenaries) the precedence before themselves, did not offer to stir, and afterwards fled without striking a blow. Ghawri, who reckoned upon the fidelity of the Mamelukes, and was as anxious to spare them as he was disposed to thin the ranks of the mercenaries, who were less devotedly attached to him, had ordered these latter to take their post in the van, that, in sustaining the first brunt of the engagement, they might more certainly fall a sacrifice. The Mamelukes, unacquainted wlth the sultan's object, saw nothing in this disposition of the troops but a neglect which they did not deserve, and did not move from their post even when the danger was most imminent. Scarcely a thousand mercenaries were left dead on the field, and the rest of the army took to flight. The Egyptian sultan, at the age of eighty years, met with his death close to a ditch, probably the natural consequence of old age and fright, or thunderstruck and mortified at his defeat, or, as some suppose, traitorously assassinated by one of his

Battle of Merj Dabik, Aug. 1516.

Ghawri's death.

own begs. Thus the blow aimed by him at the mercenaries cost him both his throne and his life; and the result of this disastrous battle to Egypt was the loss not only of Haleb, but of all Syria. Selim, after the battle, repaired to Ghawri's tent, where he found the enormous treasure of two hundred quintals of silver, and one hundred quintals of gold. A Chaush, who had been despatched in search of the corpse of Kanssu Ghawri, cut off the head, and laid it at Selim's feet. The sultan rewarded him for his pains by ordering his own head to be struck off; and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed on by his vezírs to commute the sentence for no heavier punishment than a deprivation of office. He then struck his camp, and marched on to Haleb, whose inhabitants gave him a reception, with feelings of the greatest awe, on the blue plot (Meidan-esrak) which lies in front of the city. The treasures of gold and stuffs found at Haleb exceeded all expectation; the former amounted to a million of ducats, the latter to three thousand dresses of costly silks with fur linings of lynxes and sables. Together with Haleb, all the other border-fortresses belonging to the Mamelukes in Syria fell into the hands of the Osmans; Malatiah, Divrigi, Behesni, Aintab, and Kalaater-Rum.

Selim visits Haleb.

When Selim attended public prayers at Haleb on the first Friday after his arrival, the officiating priest of the pulpit-service added to the sultan's other usual titles that peculiar title which had been hitherto claimed only by the sultan of the Mamelukes, viz. Servant of the holy states and

cities, this is, of Mecca and Medina. Selim was so softened and grateful for this, that he took off his outer mantle, worth more than a thousand ducats, and ordered the reader of the service to be clothed with it; in imitation of Muhammed's example, who presented the poet Kaab Ben Soheir with his mantle for the poem rehearsed in his praise.

Description of Haleb.

Haleb, with the by-name of Shehba, or particoloured, ranks as the sixth city of the Osman empire, being next in importance after Constantinople, Adrianople, Brusa, Cairo, and Damascus. It stands on the site of the old Bercœa, or Chalybon, and is regarded as sacred by the Moslems, from the tradition of its having been the scene of Abraham's hospitality. Of seven hills, which rise from a wide plain, the fortress which was built at the end of the thirteenth century encloses four within its walls. On its western side the river Kowaik flows through gardens, whose melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, apricots, grapes, and especially pistachio-nuts, are famous all over Turkey. The city has twelve gates, each of which leads to a separate suburb; and the number of inhabitants amounts to above two hundred thousand. Haleb is the capital of a viceroyalty of seven standards, which extends to the bank of the Euphrates, from Balis to Bir, that is, from Barbalissus to Birtha. Of the cities belonging to it are Manbej, the old Hierapolis, and Maarraton-nooman, celebrated in history; the former for the worship of the great Syrian goddess Derceto, the latter for the excel-

lence of its air and water, called from its founder the Arabian king Nooman, who gave his name to this state after the Anemone, and for the great Arabic free-thinking poet, Ebuloola, who took his surname, Maarri, from this city. The inhabitants of the country round Haleb, westward towards Antioch, and eastward towards the Euphrates, are Turkmans, Kurds, and Arabs, of many different clans. A hundred and thirty years had elapsed since Bāyezyd, the prince of the Osmans, through the mediation of Bibars, the sultan of the Mamelukes, had earned and obtained from the chalifs of the house of Abbas at Cairo, who maintained only a shadow of power, the title of a sultan by a formal embassy, accompanied with presents; Bāyezyd, who afterwards, as Timūr's prisoner, before his death, saw his kingdom divided amongst his vassals, and torn in pieces by his sons. Selim, the fifth in succession from Bāyezyd on the throne, trod only in Timūr's steps, as the conqueror of Syria, and saw himself with much less trouble in possession of the same fortress on the frontiers, which had offered so brave a resistance to the Tatarian army, in possession of Haleb, the scene on which, in the time of the crusades, and still later, were displayed such bold and heroic feats of so many mighty princes. Haleb, as well as the rest of the fortresses of Syria, was taken from the Byzantines under the chalifate of Omar by his victorious arms; and under the chalifs of the houses of Abbas and Ommia, and afterwards of the Egyptian dynasties of Beni Tulun and Achshid,

was governed by their viceroys. It was taken from them by the great prince of the Hamdan dynasty, Seifeddewlet, the same who conquered and took Domesticos prisoner. He carried his arms all over Asia Minor, and conquered Brusa at the foot of Mount Olympus, in the very face of the Byzantine capital. Being surprised by the Greeks in a defile in the neighbourhood of Haleb, he only, with difficulty, escaped in the direction of Haleb, of which the Greeks hereupon made themselves masters, together with Hems, Hama, Shyzer, and Maarrat, ravaging the country all round and beyond the Euphrates, as far as Amid and Nissibin. Seifeddewlet died at Haleb, which he again conquered; but that there might be no danger of his remains being disturbed by the enemy, as he had once very near been taken prisoner, the sword of the kingdom ordered his grave to be prepared at Miafarakain. The precaution was necessary; for the Ssalih Ben Merdas, of the tribe of Kelab, took Haleb from his grandson, and his family reigned there as independent princes for half a century. Hereupon, about the time of the first crusade, a branch of the royal house of Seljuk, which was spreading over all Asia, established itself at Haleb. Ridhwan, the murderer of his brother, formed a combination of the princes of Damascus, Hems, and Mossul, against the crusaders at Haleb, after the fall of Antioch, and fought the celebrated battle before the gates of Antioch; in which, owing to the fault of Kerbogha, the prince of Mossul, the whole camp of the combined Moslem army fell

into the hands of the crusaders. When, after the death of Ridhwan, the eunuch Lulu made himself master of the sovereignty in his son's name, the inhabitants of Haleb called in the aid of the prince of Mardin, of the house of Ortok, the powerful Ilghasi, or the land-victor, who first joined Toghtegin of Damascus and the Christian princes against Aksanghir, the Atabeg of Mossul, but afterwards joining this latter against his former allies, enriched the sanguinary field near Sarepta with the blood of the army of the crusaders. Ten years afterwards, a much more formidable adversary of the crusaders presented himself at Haleb in the person of the Atabeg Amadeddin Sengi, the destroyer of the principality of Edessa; who, though his character be that of a cruel prince, is yet entitled to the praise of justice. He extended his power as a great sovereign over the Turkish and Christian princes by his superior policy. After the victory gained over the crusaders in the neighbourhood of Haleb, close to the castle Assaret (Sarepta), he conquered and dismantled it, considering its neighbourhood as dangerous to Haleb as its tenure was difficult from the same circumstance. Amadeddin, who was a much more dreadful opponent of the crusaders than Ilghasi and Ridhwan, was succeeded by his son Nureddin, who possessed still greater qualities, and he again was far outstripped in all points calculated to render a prince an object of terror to his enemies by Ssalaheddin, the founder of the imperial house of Ejub, which branched out into seven different ramifications.

Nureddin and Ssalaheddin were masters of all Syria, till the cities were occupied by the crusaders; and reigned also over Haleb, which, after the extinction of the house of Ejub, came under the dominion of the sultans of the Nile, was transferred from them to the Cherkessians, and from them to the Osman sultans, who have ever since been in the undisputed possession of it. From Haleb Selim passed on to Hamah, and thence to Damascus, where he took up his winter quarters, visiting all the mosques and sepulchres of eminent saints: those objects of veneration to the pious Moslem, and especially that of the great mystic poet and philosopher, Mohijeddin Al Arabi, whom his own peculiar bias for mysticism led him highly to esteem. Egypt was subdued, and a constitution arranged for it in less than one year; and Selim returned back by way of Haleb to Constantinople, and proceeded thence to his European capital. The plague, however, raging there, soon caused him to return to Constantinople, where he was anxiously employed for about eight months in the improvement of his navy. These later important events of the reduction of the Mamelukes, and the consequent addition of Egypt to his empire, occupied the last six years, that is, three-fourths of Selim's reign.

Selim's death took place as he was on the road from Constantinople to Adrianople. Three days before his departure for this latter place, he had felt a burning pain in his back; and, in spite of the remonstrances of Hasanjan, the father of the

Selim's last illness,

historian Seadeddin, that it was necessary for him to pay attention to the boil which made its appearance, he undertook his journey on horseback. When he came to Chorli, in the direction of the village of Ogrash-koi,—the spot where he had fought that battle with his father which cost Bāyezyd his throne, and ultimately his life,—the pains had become so exquisitely excruciating, that he was obliged to halt. The imposthume continued to increase; and the four physicians, who were in attendance, were unable to afford ease in any other way than by laying a pitch-plaster on the wound. He totally disregarded their advice to give up the use of opium. Hasanjan, the father of Seadeddin, did not quit him a moment; the surgeons were under his inspection, and the most scrupulous attention was paid to the preparation of every prescription. Hasanjan attended him night and day. On the seventh night after his setting out from Constantinople, he was praying with him the Sura Jes, and Selim moved his lips as if accompanying him; when Hasanjan came to the verse, "Peace is the word spoken by the All-merciful," and death. Selim's hand became contracted; he closed it with an involuntary, convulsive motion, and instantly expired.

Such was the end of Sultan Selim the First,—the cruel, the poet, the conqueror, the opium-eater, the mystic, the tyrant, the murderer of his nephew, brother, and father, after a reign of eight years swollen with blood.

His character is thus detailed by the historian.

Cruel, and equally lavish of the blood of friends and foes, of his nearest relatives and most faithful vezírs, Selim was of a restless, active turn of mind, and fond of war. By this latter propensity he conciliated the janissaries, because it gratified their love of plunder. Little addicted to the pleasures of the harem or the table, but passionately fond of all kinds of exercise, especially hunting, he spent the day either in practising with different kinds of weapons, or in the chase; while he often devoted his nights to reading history and poetry, particularly Persian poetry, of which he has left a specimen in some odes. When Jovius tells us that, like Muhammed the Second, he used to read the exploits of Cæsar and Alexander in the Turkish language, we are not to understand by that expression Cæsar's and Pansa's Commentaries, nor the histories of Curtius and Arrian; but merely the achievements of the old Persian Cæsars or emperors, and the Persian and Turkish poems which are called Alexander's book, and are in truth romances; just like the Poems of the Round Table, and the Heroic Feats of Roland. Selim both valued and countenanced men of learning, and raised the most capable of them to many important offices of the state. Instances of this are, the historian Edris, the commissioner for the affairs of Kurdistan; and the learned lawyer Ahmed Kemal Páshásade, who was appointed judge-advocate on the expedition to Egypt, translator of Arabic works, and royal historiographer. Character.

A dervish is said to have prophesied at his birth,

from the seven moles with which he was marked when he came into the world, that he would subdue seven sovereigns,—a prophecy which is said by the Osman historians to have been gloriously confirmed afterwards by his victories over his brothers Korkud and Ahmed, and his nephew; over Sháh Ismail, over Karakhan, over the prince of Sulkadr, and the Sultan of Egypt. From these seven bloody moles they might, with equal propriety, have prognosticated the murder of his seven relatives, and the execution of seven vezírs. Hemdem Páshá and Hasan Páshá had forfeited their lives for the bold freedom with which they had offered their advice,—the former at the opening of the campaign against Persia, the latter at the commencement of the Egyptian war. The grand vezír Dukagin Ahmed, and Iskender Páshá, atoned with their lives for the rebellions of the janissaries; the two Mustafas, the one his brother-in-law, a beglerbeg, and the other the grand vezír, incurred the same penalty upon an accusation of injustice and perfidy, and Junis Páshá for the frankness of his manners. Hersek Ahmed and Piri Páshá were the only grand vezírs whose dignities did not cost them their lives. Selim spared them at the intercession of his confidential friends, and of those scholars who were admitted to join in familiar conversation with him. Though Selim did not stain the end of his reign with the blood of infidels, a circumstance which is to be attributed to the humanity of his grand vezír Piri, and his mufti Jemali, as he had the beginning of it by the massacre of heretics, yet

he plundered their most beautiful churches, and changed them into mosques; contenting himself with this spoliation of churches, which in a Moslem was highly meritorious, instead of indulging in the murder of Christians, which he had been forbidden to attempt. If he had failed in acquiring this species of reputation with respect to Islam, still he would have established a high character, from the orthodoxy of his faith and the extension of his dominions; for having incorporated with the Osman empire, by his victories over the Sháh of Persia and the Sultan of the Mamelukes, the greatest part of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia, together with all Egypt; and for having amplified the title which Muhammed the Second had earned by the conquest of Constantinople, as "Lord of two parts of the earth and of two seas," by the additional title of "Servant and Protector of the two holy states and cities of Mecca and Medina." Muhammed the Second and Selim the First, the two conquerors, whose reigns comprise seventy years, if we take in the intervening reign of Bāyezyd the Second, are the two main pillars of the building of Osman power, and of the consequent increase of that empire which, under Selim's successor, reached the zenith of its grandeur.

CHAPTER X.

SULEIMAN THE GREAT.

YEAR OF HIJRAH, 940. A.D. 1533.

Suleiman's first Persian Campaign — March to Akhlát — Grand Vezír's Jealousy of the Defterdar — Occupation of Tabríz by Ibrahim, the Grand Vezír — Suleiman's March from Constantinople to Baghdád — Description of Baghdád — Suleiman's happy Discovery of the Grave of the greatest Imam at Baghdád — Execution of the Defterdar — Ibrahim's Fall — Second Persian Campaign — War with Persia a third time — The Sultan's Murder of his Son, Prince Mustafa — Peace concluded with Persia — Brief Character of Suleiman.

If, in the early part of their reigns, the predecessors of Suleiman appear to have been too much engrossed by European politics and conquests, or by the frequent revolts in Karamania, to make the eastern frontier of the empire a primary consideration, this remark becomes still more applicable to Suleiman himself. He had engaged in five European campaigns, and sat on the throne thirteen years, consolidating his power westward, and threatening the liberties of Europe, before the conclusion of a peace with Austria allowed him to turn his thoughts towards Persia. Then it was that, treading in the steps of his great-grandfather, Muhammed the Second, and his father, Selim the First, he resolved on the Persian war. The universal mas-

Persian campaign.

sacre of the heretics, through the whole extent of the Osman empire, by which, as a great auto-da-fè, Selim had marked the commencement of hostilities with Sháh Ismail in characters of blood, had been imitated by Suleiman, though on a more reduced scale, in the murder of all the prisoners in custody at Kallipolis. This sanguinary measure was intended both as an answer to Sháh Tahmasp's tardy congratulation upon Suleiman's accession to the throne, and as a prelude of the war upon which, even at that time, the sultan was perfectly inclined to enter, and which nothing but the want of a favourable opportunity prevented him from undertaking. But this opportunity was soon afforded by the opposite treachery of two viceroys commanding in the frontier provinces of the respective kingdoms of Turkey and Persia. Sherifbeg, the khan of Bidlis, had revolted from the sultan and espoused the cause of the sháh; and Ulama, Tahmasp's viceroy in Azerbáiján, a native of Tekké, who had, during the rebellions in Bāyezyd's time, renounced his allegiance to become a partisan of Sheitantuli, was now again gone over to the sultan. Some months before the expedition against Güns, Ulama kissed hands at Constantinople, and was honoured with the feudal investiture of Hossnkeif, besides the whole territorial jurisdiction of Bidlis, and a yearly income of two million aspers, or forty thousand ducats. The beglerbegs of Karaman, Amásiáh, Sulkadr, Syria, and Diarbeker, were commanded to aid him in the reduction of Bidlis, by furnishing the necessary troops for that purpose.

Ulama besieged Bidlis, but Sherifbeg hastened so speedily to its relief, that the Osman troops raised the siege. Suleiman had received this intelligence upon the march towards Güns, close upon his inroad into Syrmia. Following Ulama's example, Sulfakar Khan, the viceroy of Baghdád, who bore the title of a chalif of the chalifs, had sent to Suleiman the keys of Baghdád, in which city he was in hopes of maintaining himself against the sháh; but his design being discovered by some persons who adhered to the sháh's interest, he was apprehended by surprise, and put to death; so that the possession of Baghdád was secured afresh to the sháh. Suleiman's imperial dignity required him to vindicate his claims to Bidlis, which had revolted, no less than to Baghdád, which it had been intended to put into his hands; and the war with Persia, which had been long resolved on, and so long procrastinated, broke out at once in full vigour. The seraskier grand vezír pushed forward to the conquest of Bidlis at the autumnal equinox, immediately after the peace concluded with Ferdinand, and the sultan intended to follow precisely at the same period in the spring for the reduction of Baghdád.

While the army was yet on this side Konia encamped at Shinarlii, the tidings of Sherifbeg's defeat were announced by the arrival of his head, which Ulama had sent; the hereditary viceroyalty was confirmed to his son, Shemseddin, and the seraskier passed on and took up his winter quarters at Haleb. The surrender of the Persian fortresses was scarcely a matter of difficulty, when the

Y. of H. 940. A.D. 1533.

army advanced forward in the approaching spring, in consequence of the usual intrigues which had been carried on with the Persian commandants, while the seraskier was in winter quarters. Owing to this secret understanding, the fortresses of Adaljuwaz, Arjís, and Akhlát, surrendered.

Surrender of forts on the lake of Van.

All these three are situated on the north side of the great lake called, by European geographers, the Lake of Van, from a fortress of that name (which lies on the east side of the lake), and denominated by Oriental writers the Lake of Arjís, and which represents the Arsissa of Ptolemy. As you proceed northwards from Van along the borders of the lake, you come through the pass of Bendmahi, first to Arjís, the old Arze, which lies in a fruitful plain abounding in walnut-trees; two stations further west you reach Adaljuwaz, situated close upon the lake, which has swallowed up part of its walls; and at the distance of one station further lies Akhlát, the old Chliat, the residence of Turkman princes, who were called Ermenshah, that is, Kings of Armenia, situated in an agreeable fruitful plain (famous for apples of an enormous size, one of which weighs as much as one hundred dirhems); a fort often laid waste by earthquakes and wars, ravaged by Khuarizm Jelaleddin Mankberni, when he wrested it from the Seljukians, subsequently by the Monguls under Jengyzkhan, and by the Tatars under Timūr. It is at once the birth-place of many eminent scholars, and the spot where many Armenian and Turkman princes, the ancestors of the sovereign house of Osman, are interred.

Y. of H. 626. A.D. 1228.

Ibrahim's plan was to march on from Haleb to Baghdád northwards by way of Diarbeker and Mosul; but the execution of his project was hindered by the defterdar, Iskender Chelebí, who, while he held the office of kiaja, that is, the lieutenant of the seraskier, was also in his capacity of minister of finance, and from the confidence which Suleiman reposed in him, as well as from his own wealth, a man of extraordinary influence. He was the only man in the empire who, in point of property and ostentatious magnificence, outstripped the vezírs, and seemed inclined to eclipse the grand vezír himself. He had six thousand slaves, of whom three hundred wore turbans adorned with gold. Even Ibrahim had only about one hundred slaves more than the defterdar dressed in this splendid style, and the two vezírs had only from sixty to eighty such slaves. When Ibrahim took the field, his kiaja used to appear with a train of no fewer than twelve hundred men well mounted, and with their accoutrements in the best order. According to the muster-roll for furnishing the supply of troops, the defterdar was bound to send into the field a quota of thirty soldiers. At the opening of the Persian campaign, Ibrahim requested of him, with expressions of civility and politeness, one hundred and ten horsemen, over and above his regular contingent. The defterdar pursued a middle course. Resolved neither entirely to refuse, and yet not entirely to comply with the requisition, he sent a hundred and ten men, but in these he included his regular con-

tingent of the thirty. Ibrahim suppressed his resentment, but from that moment entertained a lurking enmity against the defterdar, who, upon perceiving that he had lost the favour of the grand vezír, aimed at his overthrow, while he as assiduously laid his schemes for the ruin of his enemy. This spirit of opposition and enmity was fostered by Nakkash Ali, the surveyor-general of Syria, an artful and politic man, who entertained hopes of filling the post of the defterdar, in the event of his disgrace and fall. By his contrivance, or probably at the express command of Ibrahim, it so happened, that when the camp broke up from Haleb, at the very moment of the camels being ordered forward, which were loaded with the military coffers, an alarm of thieves was given. The people of the seraskier hastened to the spot, and arrested thirty persons, who were found near the treasures. These acknowledged the next day, when put to the rack, that they had concerted a plan, under cover of night, for robbing the military chest, and that at the instigation of the defterdar; a groundless charge, the invention of which the whole army attributed to the seraskier.

Iskender Chelebi now saw that there was no longer any way of filling up the breach between him and the grand vezír, which these circumstances had so materially widened; and he consequently sought by every possible means to accomplish the grand vezír's ruin. With this view, he gave it as his opinion, upon the most plausible grounds, and in advancing this opinion he took

especial care that it should be countenanced by the deserter Ulama, that the army should march straight forward to the capital of the sháh, who, according to the latest intelligence, had left it. He rightly conjectured that Baghdád must then fall of course; and he hoped effectually to hasten the destruction of his personal enemy in the enemy's country. Ibrahim, goaded on by ambition, and, above all things, vain of being called the conqueror of Tabríz, was blind to the snare thus craftily laid for him, and easily fell into it. The march was pursued in the direction of Tabríz, leaving Baghdád in the flank; and it was arranged at Birejik, just across the Euphrates, to make a halt of one month and a half at Amid to bring the troops together. The army encamped at Suwarek on the tenth day after breaking up from Amid, and on the same day envoys came to meet the seraskier with the keys of the castle of Aamik and the fortress of Van, the latter the strongest of the whole Osman empire, which the army of Timūr, the conqueror of the world, blockaded for three years, and where ten thousand men vainly exhausted their strength for a whole day in a fruitless attempt to blow up the rocks. The viceroy of Syria, Chosrew Páshá, was appointed commandant of the fortress. On the following day, Amyrbeg, of the Turkish tribe of Mahmudi, brought the keys of Siawan, which occasioned the surrender of the castles of Harem, Bidkar, Ruseni, Chul, Tenus, Awnik, Bāyezyd, Waitan, and Ichtiman. On the first day of the nine hundredth and forty-first year

Y. of H. 940. A.D. 1534.

July, A.D. 1534.

of the Hijrah, Ibrahim made his formal entry into Tabríz; occupied the summer quarters of Esaadabad; laid the foundation of a castle close to the beautiful sepulchre of Ghasan, which lies on the south side of the city, marching into it a thousand rank and file to keep the inhabitants under due restraint; gave it a judge and guard to preserve order, for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants; and, in spite of the fetva, which recommended the universal plunder and massacre of the heretics, took his measures so effectually, that no person suffered the least injury from the violence of the soldiery. The only loss sustained by Ibrahim's army (though it must be acknowledged this was a very important one, and sensibly felt) was in the mountainous passes of Kisilje-Tagh. Ulama and the defterdar had induced him to send ten thousand men under their command into these mountain-passes, in which the greatest part of them were destroyed by the enemy. To counterbalance this temporary tarnishing of Ibrahim's glory, ambassadors in the same week appeared from the Sháh of Shirwan and the Sháh of Ghilan, Musaffer Khan, with a submissive message and presents. Ibrahim invested Ulama with the feudal viceroyalty of Aserbáiján, and Baiender Ogli Muradbeg with that of Irak. Ibrahim sent official intelligence of all these circumstances to the sultan from Tabríz, and of his having at the same time issued despatches announcing the successes of the Osman arms to the different provinces.

Capture of Tabríz.

940. 1534. Suleiman's march from Constantinople.

In the meantime, Suleiman had broken up his encampment, and moved on from Scutari on the very day on which Ibrahim had struck his camp from Amid, after having previously despatched Aloisio Gritti with three thousand men to Hungary, and intrusted the protection of the capital to a sandjakbeg, and that of Asia Minor to his son Mustafa, the páshá of Ssaruchan. The army marched forwards through the principal cities of Anadoli, Nicæa, Kutahiah, Aksheher, and Konia. At Konia he received the keys of the fortress of Van, and of the castles which had fallen also with it, sent by the seraskier. Grateful to heaven for these conquests, Suleiman visited the sepulchre of Mewlana Jelaleddin Rumi, the great mystical poet, where select portions from the Koran and Mesnevi were read, and while the solemn religious exercise of the dervishes in the reeling dance was kept aloof amidst the loud piping of flutes and beating of drums; so great was the animation of the dervishes, and the spectators became so confused and giddy by the long-continued rotatory motion of the dance, that the grave itself seemed to dance, and the ghost of the great sultan here buried in the kingdom of spirits, Monla Chunkiar, that is, of Molla Sultan, appeared to promise beforehand the victorious issue of this campaign to the shadow of God upon earth, the great Sultan Suleiman. The great sultan recommended himself in prayer to the sultan in the kingdom of spirits, whose father is called Sultanul Ulema, that is, the sultan of the expounders of the law, and whose

son is named Sultan Weled, that is the sultan the child. He performed the same ceremonies at Sidi Ghasi, at the grave of Sid-al-battal, that is, the chief of champions, the first Arabic Cid, who preceded the Spanish by four centuries and a half; and at Erzerûm at the grave of Sheikh Ebu Ishak Karsuni. The sultan granted to the seraskier the feudal investiture of Arjís, whence he despatched the master of the horse, Muhammed, with presents of extraordinary value to him; and, upon the current report that the Persians were advancing near the army of the grand vezír, a divan was held, in which it was resolved to proceed by forced marches to Tabríz. Eight days after this, Suleiman established his head-quarters in the residence of the Sháh at Tabríz, and the inhabitants of the place went to meet and congratulate him on his arrival. On the following day the two combined armies of the sultan and seraskier pushed forward to Oojan, and the next day the seraskier, the beglerbegs, the aghas, and the defterdar Iskender, were honoured with caftans. The sultan's household-troops and the janissaries, and the regular cavalry, received a thousand aspers, or twenty ducats a man. The prince of Ghilan, Melek Musaffer, kissed hands and did homage; the son of the Sháh of Shirwan was appointed commander-in-chief of the garrison of Tabríz, which consisted of the troops of the begs of Beybúrd and Kumach, and the begs of Karahissar and Adnah. The army proceeded on its march in a southerly direction beyond Miane and Senjan to

Sultanije, where the news arrived that the sháh had made his escape, and Muhammed, the prince of the former royal family of Sulkadr, had come over to the Osmans. Besides the son of Sulkadr, Muhammed, the son of Shahrūkh Beg had revolted with five others, who, in solemn divan, were admitted to kiss hands, and were presented with caftans and turbans adorned with gold. The advanced period of the year made the march through the mountains to Hamadan very difficult and disastrous; many beasts of burden were lost, and the arrival of the artillery was very much retarded by the state of the roads, which had been spoiled by the rain. It is possible, that the ill-humour and discontent of the troops manifested under these circumstances would help to give effect to Ibrahim's insinuations against the defterdar, whose duty it was, as quartermaster-general, to provide against these casualties: he was displaced, and his great fief forfeited to the crown lands. Still more tedious was the march on the other side of Hamadan, in the passes of Elwend or Orontes. Many beasts of burden dropped on the road; a hundred provision-wagons were burnt, from the impossibility of going forward; the cannons were buried in the earth; and even the corpse of the Nisanji, Sidi Beg, who had died on the road during the march, and had expressed a wish to be interred at Baghdád in the grave of the great Imam, after accompanying the army four whole days, was buried in the castle Shahi. Amidst no little difficulties, the army proceeded on towards Baghdád, whose commandant,

Difficult march to Hamadan.

Muhammed Beg, received a summons of surrender sent from Tekké; but who, instead of obeying, withdrew himself with all his forces. The grand vezír marched forwards to take possession of the defenceless city. He ordered the gates to be closed, with a view to prevent all plundering; and sent the keys of it to the sultan by his standard-bearer, who, as a reward for this happy intelligence, was recompensed with five hundred ducats and the Sandjak of Swornik, which yielded an annual revenue of three hundred thousand aspers, or sixty thousand ducats. On the following day the seraskier kissed the sultan's hand; twenty thousand ducats were granted him for his friends, and the same sum was also assigned to him as the yearly increase of his salary, charged upon the income from Egypt. At the next divan the beglerbegs, and begs, and aghas, kissed hands, and several promotions took place.

Description of Baghdád.

Baghdád, the eastern border-fortress of the Osman empire on the Persian side, as Belgrade is the western barrier against the Germans, called also Darus-selam, that is, the house of peace, in the same way that Belgrade is called Darul-jihad, that is, the house of the holy war, has also the further appellation of Darul-chilafet, that is, the house of the chalifate, from being the old residence of the chalifs of the family of Abbas. As it is the spot of so many sepulchres of holy and pious men, who are interred there, it is called the Burjul-evlia, that is, the bulwark of the saints; and Sevra, that is, the sloping or crooked, from the entrance

into the walls, because the inner gates are concealed by the outer. It was built by Manssur, the second chalif of the house of Abbas, in the 148th year of the Hijrah, and the 765th of the Christian era, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, as a residence for himself and his descendants, under such a fortunate conjunction of the stars, as we are told by the Oriental historians and geographers, that out of thirty-six chalifs of the family of Abbas, who resided at Baghdád, not one single individual died within the walls of the city, though many of them are buried there. If we may credit historians, it derived the name by which it is usually called, from that of a dervish whose cell stood here, but more probably from the fertile rich land in its vicinity, just as the whole country lying about Hamadan was, as early as the age of Queen Semiramis, called Bagistan, or garden-land, from the luxuriance of the soil. To this very day Baghdád is famous for its rice-plantations and beautiful palm-trees, dates, lemons, and oranges; and all the neighbouring towns of Irak Arabi send their finest fruits to it. From the environs of Bassra it receives sugar and rice, from Wasith apples and grapes, and from Shehrban pomegranates. It is the great mart of all the articles of commerce from Persia and India, which are brought hither from Bassra and Isfahan, and hence find their way to Syria and Asia Minor. It is surrounded with strong walls guarded by a hundred and fifty towers and a deep trench.

On the north lies the gate of the great Imam,

so called because the road through it leads to the monument of the great Imam Ebu Hanife, which is situated at the distance of one hour north of Baghdád. Two other gates are called the white and the black. From the bridge-gate there is a road, by means of a bridge thrown across the Tigris, to the western suburb, which is called Kushlar Kalaasi, or the bird-castle. Not a vestige remains of the old palace of the chalifs, or of the palace of the tree built by the Chalif Moktader, in order to put underneath it the large golden tree upon whose branches right and left sat figures of men on horse-back richly habited with swords in their hands; but the arched dome of the monument of the Princess Zobeide, the wife of Harūn Rashid, is yet a very prominent object. No one is any longer acquainted with the site upon which the Academy Nisamije stood, the first in the ranks of Islam, founded by the great grand vezír Nisamulmulk, but that which was built upon the plan of it by Mostanssar, the last chalif but one of the house of Abbas, has been converted into the government custom-house for commercial purposes, instead of those for which it was originally designed. The numerous tombs, which have obtained for the city the honourable appellation of the bulwark of the saints, are partly within the city walls, while some are in the northern suburb Russafe, and others opposite to it on the western bank of the river. One of the most conspicuous of these monuments within the city, is that of the Sheikh Abdul-kadir-ghilani, the founder of the order of dervishes, called

by the name of the Kadir, an order very widely spread over different parts of the kingdom; and that of the great Sheikh Sehrwerdi, who died a martyr to his philosophical doctrines, as the superintendent of the tomb of the Imam Ebu Hanife, in the odour of great sanctity. The Imam Ebu Hanife is the first of the four imams of the four orthodox rites of Islam whom the Osman expounders of the law follow as their guide, and who is commonly known under the name of the Greatest Imam. Directly opposite to the tomb of the greatest of the four expounders of the orthodox ceremonies of Islam, on the western bank of the Tigris, is distinctly seen the tomb dedicated to two imams, namely, to Musa Ali Kasim, and his grandson, Muhammed Takki, the former the seventh, the latter the ninth of the twelve imams of the prophet's family. In the suburb Russafe, where the tomb of the greatest imam stands, are those of several chalifs of the house of Abbas. The tombs of the chalifs, now shorn of their splendour, scarcely convey to the spectator any idea of the magnificence of those palaces and edifices with which they embellished their capital, the beauty of which has so long since gone to decay. Two hundred years after the foundation of Baghdád, a second palace was erected besides that of the chalifs for Moiseddewlet, the prince of the powerful family of Buje, who swayed the sceptre of Irak-Ajem and Irak-Arabi, before whom the chalifs quailed. Adhadeddewlet, the greatest prince of the same dynasty, founded a noble hospital, and his relation,

Sherefeddewlet, an observatory. This palace was burnt before the invasion of the Mongols, when Khuaresmshah Jelaleddin Mankberni desolated the city; but the palaces, the hospital, the observatory, and academies, all perished in one general conflagration, when Hulagukhan invaded the place with his barbarian Mongols. The city was changed into a heap of ruins by the fire, and entirely depopulated by the sword. Thus old Baghdád and the chalifate expired together. Out of the ruins of the old city another rose under the sceptre of the dynasty of the Ilchans of the Black and White Sheep, who succeeded each other as sovereigns of Irak. Timūr, as we have seen, trod in the footsteps of Jengyzkhan, inundating Baghdád with blood, and actually erecting pyramids of skulls of the inhabitants, whom he had inhumanly butchered. From the princes of the White Sheep, Baghdád was wrested by Sháh Ismail, the founder of the dynasty of the Ssafi, and from him by the sultan of the Osmans, Suleiman, who from that time swelled the styles and titles which his grandfather, Muhammed the Conqueror, had assumed, of "Lord of two parts of the earth, and Sovereign of two seas," and that adopted by his father Selim, of "Servant of the two holy cities (of Mecca and Medina)," and his hereditary title of "a Lord of the three residences, Constantinople, Adrianople, and Brusa, of Cairo the mighty, of Damascus beautiful as Eden, and of the stately Haleb,"—by adding also that of a "Lord of Belgrade, the house of the holy war, and of Baghdád, the house of peace and victory."

Suleiman continued his residence in winter quarters at Baghdád four months, during which time he was occupied partly in the regulation of the new pashalik, by parcelling out the districts to be held by feudal tenure, and partly in visiting the sepulchres at Baghdád, and the famous resort of pilgrims at Kerbela and Nejef, where Ali and his son Hussyn are interred. The whole country between the Tigris and the Euphrates is rendered sacred by the legendary tales of Islam, in which the pilgrim beholds with veneration the fields of slaughter of Lemlem, of Jemjeme, Kerbela, and Kadesia, bleached with the bones of martyrs to the faith; where he gazes with astonishment at the pretended sepulchres of four prophets, Adam, Noe, Ezekiel, and Esdras; those of six imams of the family of Muhammed, the seal of the prophets, Ali, Hasan, Hussyn, Askeri, Kasim, Takki; and the hole out of which the last of the twelve imams, Mehdi, who was swallowed up by the earth, will issue forth again before the day of judgment. The places which are thus consecrated by the traditions of Islam, speak more forcibly to the Moslem traveller than those which are either distinguished in history, or which present any striking geographical features; where the imperial palaces of Sedir and Chawrnak, Dewani and Agarkuf, built by Monser, Naaman, Manssur, and Keikawus once stood, more than the site of the old Arabic cities Hira and Kufa, more than the ruins of Thermodon and Ctesiphon, or even those of Babylon itself; where the Moslem looks only for the enchanted wells in which the fallen angels

Moslem superstitions.

Harūt and Marūt are hanged up in chains by the feet till the day of the last judgment, for the abduction of a beautiful woman, and teach people the art of magic; while the fair Anahid, by the force of talismanic words learnt from her seducers, having ascended into heaven, where she is transformed into the morning-star, conducts the dance of the stars with a harp, whose strings are composed of sunbeams. But the most important object of Suleiman's inquiries was the sepulchre of the first of the four founders of the rites of Islam, the great imam Ebu Hanife, which had been destroyed by the Shiites, whose profanation had extended even to the robbery and burning of the bones found in it. Most fortunately for the repose of the greatest imam, and no less so for Suleiman himself, who was destined to be the discoverer of the sepulchre, the former superintendent had disclosed to a chaush in confidence, that the most venerable imam had appeared to him in a dream before the violation of his grave by the Shii, and commanded him to rescue the spot in which his remains were deposited from the violence and malignity of heretics thus impending over it; and that he, in consequence, had punctually fulfilled this command by withdrawing the body, and substituting in its place the corpse of an unbeliever. The seraskier, who had been apprised of this circumstance by the chaush, laid his information before the sultan, and commanded the pious Professor Tashkun to search for the grave, who thereupon soon reported that, at the spot which was

shewn them, the labourers selected for the purpose had turned up the ground with spades, and had struck upon stone-work, from which a fragrant smell of musk had issued, and scented the place all round to a considérable distance. At this incontrovertible proof of the truth of the information given by the superintendent, the seraskier hastened to the place marked out, raised up the stone with his own hand, and uncovered the grave of the greatest imam. Suleiman himself approached, descended below into the vault; and the whole army was convinced that the bones of the greatest imam had not been burnt by heretics, as was hitherto imagined, but that the musk-exhaling sepulchre had been reserved for the discovery of the greatest of grand vezírs and the greatest of sultans. The disclosure of the sepulchre of the greatest imam at the conquest of Baghdád, was a no less lucky discovery than the recovery of the grave of Ejüb, the prophet's companion, at the conquest of Constantinople; and though this discovery, like the former, was a mere invention, yet it failed not to have a mighty influence on the army. The soldiers went on a pilgrimage to the newly discovered grave, and were persuaded that such an auspicious disclosure unequivocally demonstrated the great sultan, the conqueror of Baghdád, to be the peculiar favourite of heaven, as the similar circumstance above mentioned had established the claims of his great-grandfather, the conqueror of Constantinople, to the same title.

During the winter spent at Baghdád, Ibrahim's

concealed resentment and spirit of revenge against Iskender Chelebi increased. Though the defterdar was removed from office, and therefore without the power of being dangerous to the grand vezír for the present, the latter dreaded his return to power; and his immense riches were a still more urgent reason with Ibrahim for hastening the warrant for his execution. Upon this step, however, if he did not himself venture, yet he easily induced the sultan to pronounce the sentence. On a day when the divan was about to be held, the grand vezír was the first to gain an audience of the sultan; and before the arrival of the two other vezírs, the fatal order was issued from the council-board, that the displaced defterdar, Iskender Chelebi, should be executed; that he should be hanged up in the market-place of Baghdád with every species of ignominy. This order was accompanied by another, the purport of which was that his slaves, to the number of between six and seven thousand, should not be confiscated by being put up to public sale, but be forfeited to the sultan's household establishment, and that his other property be alienated to the crown. In a few days his execution was followed by the beheading of his father-in-law, Hussyn Chelebi. Iskender Chelebi's predilection for so great a number of slaves is said to have arisen not from any motives of vanity and ostentation, but from his extreme care that, in exercising the patronage attached to his office, he might dispose of places to young men capable of filling them; for he always selected out of them such as were

Execution of the defterdar.

most distinguished for their spirit and courage, both for the civil and military departments. Seven of these were afterwards raised to the dignities of vezírs and grand vezírs, among whom was Muhammed Sokolli, Suleiman's last grand vezír, the conqueror of Szigeth. When Suleiman took up his head-quarters at Baghdád for the winter, he had appointed the troops of the regular cavalry, the Spáhis, Salihdars, Ghureba, and Ulufeji of the right and left wing, to keep guard in the palace just in the same way as in the field; when he moved his quarters, he left a garrison behind him consisting of one thousand rank and file, and one thousand Ulufeji, under the command of Suleiman Páshá, the former viceroy of Diarbeker, and the first Osman viceroy of Baghdád. On the second of April, Suleiman again set out with his army to Tabríz; not, however, by the same road which had brought him to Baghdád, but through Kurdistan, northward by Meragha. Nothing occurred to enliven the tedium of an uninterrupted march of three months, except the news that the sháh had moved off with the army from Van; that the Persian prince, Sam Mirza, had come over to the sultan; and that ambassadors from France and Persia were on the eve of arrival. This was the third ambassador of Francis the First, who had been sent to pay this homage to Suleiman in the field. The first was immediately before the march to Vienna; the second the constable Rincon, who came to Suleiman's camp while on his march to Güns; the third, Laforet, now came to Asia as the

bearer of his master's congratulations upon the conquest of Baghdád.

The toils and fatigues of the troops, harassed by the long march from Baghdád to Tabríz, were, upon their arrival thither, recompensed by a gratuity in money to the privates, and an augmentation of his fief to every feudal tenant. Each janissary and spáhi received twenty ducats, and each holder of a fief to the value of one thousand aspers received an increase of income by two hundred more. The sultan occupied the sháh's palace, and the grand-vezír-seraskier was the only individual admitted to the same honour; the other vezírs were encamped in the field. The sultan, accompanied by the seraskier, attended solemn prayers on Friday in the mosque of Sultan Hasan, the janissaries being posted all round, and the begs sitting on horseback. During the fourteen days that the army halted at Tabríz, several regulations and executions took place, nominations to viceroyalties, and preparation of despatches to announce the successes of the Osman arms. With respect to the arrangement of the ceremonial of the divan, it was ordered that henceforth not both the beglerbegs of Romeili and Anadoli should sit in the divan with the vezírs, but only the former of them; the Beglerbeg of Anadoli was to be introduced only in the extraordinary case of his having some measure to propose to the consideration of the divan. The other beglerbegs were not even to approach the interior of the saloon where the divan was held, but were ordered to take their

seats on the outside immediately in front of the doors. The Kurdish beg, Shifkat, was here beheaded, as well as five of his followers, for holding a correspondence with the Persians. Among the investitures of viceroyalties which took place, the most remarkable was that bestowed on the sháh's own brother, who was honoured with the government of the territory lying on the other side of the river Kisil-usen, which belongs to Irak. Despatches were forwarded to Venice with the news of the conquest of Baghdád, in the same way as official communication of the conquest of Tabríz had been formerly conveyed from Baghdád. The secretary of state (Nishanji), the historian Mustafa Jelalsade, availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by the stay of fourteen days at Tabríz, to collect panegyrics from the most eminent Persian scholars adapted to his history of Suleiman, and which he has incorporated with it. The Persians, who are always prone to exaggerate, were more lavish than usual of their encomiums on this occasion, because the subject was the Royal Book of the Conqueror, and the author of it his secretary of state. Such encomiums are called takris, that is, a thorough dressing or currying; so that the sultan and his historiographer were handsomely curried down, or dressed over, with panegyrics pretty thickly laid on by the wits of Persia. Six months were spent in the march from Tabríz to Constantinople, which Suleiman entered, after an absence of a year and a half, crowned with happiness and victory.

Twelve years after these events, in the year 1548, the sultan was again engaged in an expedition against Persia; which, though as glorious as the preceding campaign, yet, as it offers nothing new with respect to the geography, we purposely omit, substituting a brief account of the fall of the grand vezír, Ibrahim, who now for fourteen years had shared the sovereignty with his master. Suleiman, great and unsuspecting, had trusted with unbounded power a Greek slave, whom he adopted for his friend and brother, whom he had raised from the dust to the highest dignities of the empire, to be the sultan's brother-in-law, and seraskier. This man, forgetting his obligations to his great and only benefactor, haughtily transgressed the bounds of propriety, and that line which separates the sovereign from the slave, with all the arrogant presumption that the most unlimited vanity and ambition were capable of inspiring. His conduct to the ambassadors of Ferdinand and the Doge was as impolitic as it was overbearing, exceeding his own power and the dependence of the sultan upon his caprices; and the people in the capital expressed their displeasure in murmurs, which reached the sultan's ears, that he should be so infatuated in favour of a man of whose overweening pride the ambassador had just cause to complain. As the people at Constantinople were little satisfied, the army at Haleb was equally disgusted; and gave vent to their feelings in a bolder tone, at the rancour which was exhibited by Ibrahim to accomplish the fall of the defterdar, Iskender Chelebi; whose

Fall of Ibrahim.

removal from office in the first instance, and subsequent ignominious death, were entirely owing to the influence of Ibrahim over the sultan. Ibrahim, deluded both by his triumph over his enemy no less than by the easiness of the sultan's temper, and the facility with which he came into his schemes, and elated with his victories as conqueror of Tabríz and Baghdád,—had given a command, when the army was on its retreat from Persia, that the general orders of the day should be issued to the forces in the name of the seraskier-sultan. It was to no purpose that the defterdar, Iskender Chelebi, remonstrated with him against his assuming this title. He pretended to excuse it upon the ground, upon which perhaps it might be extenuated,—that in Persia the viceroys of Kurdish sandjaks had also the title of sultan; and, after the defterdar's execution, Ibrahim imagined the opportunity favourable for commanding this royal title of sultan to be added to his former title of seraskier. He probably looked on this measure as the first step preparatory to his scaling the heights even of the sovereignty itself; but it was as fatal as it was ill-judged. It was a measure pregnant with ruin to the insolent favourite, the first stumbling-block to his real greatness, the prelude to the total subversion of his fortunes. Twelve years before this period, Ahmed, the vezír, from motives of revenge—because he had been compelled to resign the post of grand vezír to the favourite Ibrahim—had assumed in Egypt the title of sultan; instead of which, history will designate him for his pains

only by the name of traitor. When, therefore, Ibrahim assumed the same title, Suleiman was filled with alarm; he could not but apprehend that this measure must of necessity involve in it the title of traitor also. Suleiman was confirmed in this apprehension from his being harassed by the representation of a dream, with which he had been teazed the very night after Iskender Chelebi's execution at Baghdád. This dream was always recurring to his imagination. The innocent defterdar, whom he had caused to be put to death, had appeared to him in celestial light, and loaded him with reproaches for suffering himself to be so cajoled by a faithless, treacherous vezír, as to murder an innocent man in order to gratify his caprice. The figure threw itself upon Suleiman, and threatened to strangle him; when he suddenly started out of sleep, uttering the most piercing screams. The impression was deep and lasting. For the moment, however, it was not so formidable as to deter Suleiman from accompanying Ibrahim at Baghdád to the sepulchres of the saints; and afterwards going openly to prayers with him at Tabríz, and even allowing him a sleeping apartment in the palace which he himself occupied. A whole year elapsed, when Suleiman's fears reached their height before the favourite's treasonable plans were fully ripe for execution. Whether it was owing to the contempt of the Koran, and all codes of law, which Ibrahim had unreservedly avowed some time since, or some other unknown crimes of offended majesty, which Suleiman perhaps wished to be concealed

from the world, just as Harūn Rashid did the delinquency of Jafer, the son of Barmek, though his power and treasures, like those of Ibrahim, were of themselves a sufficient crime in the eyes of a sovereign jealous of his supremacy, like Harūn Rashid and Suleiman,—be this as it may, one evening in the month of Ramasan, Ibrahim went to the seraglio as usual, in order to sup with the sultan, and afterwards to sleep in the same apartment. In the morning he was found strangled, with evident marks of violence, and as evident marks of his having attempted a defence; for the traces of his blood which had been shed were shewed in the harem a hundred years afterwards — a frightful warning for the insolence of too-powerful favourites who dare to tread in the same steps! His corpse was interred in the cloister of the dervishes at Galata without any monument or inscription. The spot was for many years pointed out by a tree—more eloquent than any inscription on stone. Such was the end of this too powerful and too haughty Greek, who raised himself from the condition of a slave playing on the violin, to the dignity at once of a statesman holding the reins of empire, and of a general commanding armies; and who, as the sultan's representative, exercised an authority as despotic as the sultan. Suleiman, at first taken with his flattery, his insinuating address, his wit and humour, and his talent for music, was afterwards bound to him in gratitude for his eminent services as a politician and a soldier, till, at last, from habit, no less than a disposition strengthened

by habit, he had completely submitted to him in a manner that bordered on subjection. Such was the end of the grand vezír, the brother-in-law of the sultan, the besieger of Vienna and Güns, the conqueror of Tabríz and Baghdád, the Seraskier-sultan Ibrahim. He who had often sat at the sultan's table, had worn the same dresses, had shared his apartment, and married his sister; he whom Ferdinand addressed as brother, and who assumed the title of cousin of the Emperor Charles and of the sultan, and at last that of the sultan himself; who, connected with emperors in their styles and titles, arrogated a share of even sovereign power, as Cæsar Augustus divided the world with Jove; and who affected to eclipse in the page of history the glory of Julius Cæsar, with whose history he was well acquainted: he had certainly, in common with Cæsar, the same unbounded ambition, the same violent death, and the same day of that death; for he fell by the hand of an assassin, like Cæsar, on the fifteenth of March. Out of two hundred famous vezírs of the chalifs, of the sháhs of Persia, and the khans of Tatary, whose lives have been written by the Persian historian Chandemir, the fall of none is so well known as that of Jafer the Barmecide; and out of two hundred vezírs whom the Osman kingdom may reckon up, no one fell more fatally, or from a greater height of power, than the favourite Ibrahim.

About fifteen years after these events, in one thousand five hundred and forty-eight, we find Suleiman again proceeding on an expedition against

Persian campaign, 1548.

Persia, by way of Sidi Ghasi, Konia, and Sívás, in the former of which three cities his son Selim, the viceroy of Magnesia, waited on him; in the second, Sultan Bāyezyd, the viceroy of Karaman; in the third, Sultan Mustafa, the viceroy of Rûm. The first was sent from Europe to Asia, in order to wield the sceptre of sovereignty, in his father's absence, at Adrianople, as Regent of Romeili. From Amásiáh the army marched to Erzerûm Aadiljuwas, whence Ulama Páshá, the beglerbeg of Erzerûm, and Piri Páshá the beglerbeg of Karaman, were despatched to besiege the fortress of Van. Here Ali Sultan, the son of Chalil, the former rightful sovereign of Shirwan, presented himself, in obedience to a written summons of the sultan. Sháh Ismail had given his daughter in marriage to Ali's father; but after his death, and during Ali's minority, Sháh Tahmasp had, after a seven months' siege of Shamaki, driven him from his hereditary possessions, and given them in fief as a viceroyalty to Elkass Mirsa. After Elkass Mirsa's arrival at Constantinople, Ali Sultan, who had before sought protection at the gate of Suleiman, had been sent back to Shirwan, by way of the Black Sea, and was now reinstated afresh in the possession of his father's dominions. At the request of Elkass Mirsa, Suleiman bent his course from this place to Tabríz instead of to Van, the Persian prince anxiously wishing to become master of Tabríz. Suleiman entirely rejected Mirsa's project either of an universal massacre, or the destruction of the city, by drawing off the inhabitants as

settlers elsewhere; he garrisoned the place with a very strong detachment of troops, and broke up on the fifth day for Van. Before this place an encampment was formed about the middle of August: the heavy artillery had previously arrived hither from Erzerûm. The fortress was bombarded for eight days; and on the ninth it was taken, owing to an understanding of the inhabitants with Elkass Mirsa: the post of commandant of this important border-fortress was given in fief to Cherkes Iskender Páshá, who had been hitherto defterdar of Anadoli; and then, for this year, the army retired into winter-quarters.

In the meantime, Sháh Tahmasp had made an inroad into and pillaged the territory adjoining Aadiljuwas, Mush, and Akhlat, and had even suprised and defeated the division of the Osman troops destined to the recovery of the fortress of Kars. In consequence, the third vezír, Ahmed Páshá, had been ordered to advance from Amid, to check these incursions of the enemy. He intrusted the command of the advanced guard to the bold Circassian Osman Páshá; who, by a manœuvre, fell upon the Persians in the night. He ordered ravens and crows to be tied to the tails of a number of horses collected together, and in this way the animals were driven in a dark night into the camp of the enemy; who, under the idea that they were surprised by the Osmans, all flew to arms, and in mistake killed one another. For a stratagem so skilfully contrived and so successful in its result, Osman Páshá was rewarded with the viceroyalty of

Haleb. Prince Elkass Mirsa, who was little beloved in the Osman army, asked and received permission to make a predatory incursion into the country round Kashan, Kum, and Isfahan; and, for this purpose, even some supplies of money were granted him, but no regular troops, only a detachment of Kurds, and a motley crew of soldiers collected from other quarters. The Bairam was celebrated at
A D. 1548. Cholek; and at the end of November, Suleiman took up his winter-quarters at Haleb. During the winter residence at Haleb, presents arrived from Prince Elkass Mirsa, the fruit of his marauding expedition, as well as some despatches of victory; the Viceroy of Karaman also, Suleiman's son, Sultan Bāyezyd, appeared to answer a summons of his father. The presents of Elkass Mirsa consisted chiefly of splendid manuscripts of the Koran and Tradition, of the Sháhnameh and other poems, richly adorned with gold; of arms of all kinds set with diamonds and other precious stones; rolls of ambergris and musk, loads of aloes, bags of turquoises from Nishabur, and rubies from Bedachshan; of Indian fine cloths, Cashmere shawls, Persian carpets, and coarse cloths and rich stuffs of Khorasān. The despatches were from the beglerbeg Aus Iskender Páshá, announcing that he had destroyed the traitorous Khan of Khúi, Denbulli Haji Khan; from Vezír Muhammed Páshá, that he had subdued the Albanese rebels who had surprised and killed Musa the beglerbeg of Erzerûm; and that he had taken seven castles of the enemy. Sultan Bāyezyd hunted with his father

in the neighbourhood of Haleb. At the beginning of June, Suleiman broke up his encampment from thence; and, five days after, dismissed Prince Bāyezyd, who returned back to his government, passed the Euphrates, and encamped at Almalü. The Persian prince Elkass Mirsa was invited hither; but he was less disposed to trust himself near the sultan's person than that of the third vezír, Muhammed Páshá, who was ordered in the direction of Baghdád. He hastened, sick of a fever, to Chinar, where he was surprised by his brother, the prince Sohrab, and delivered up to his sovereign, the Sháh Tahmasp, who closely imprisoned him for the remainder of his life. In September, Suleiman encamped at Erzerûm, and sent from thence the second vezír, Ahmed Páshá, to Georgia. He conquered within six weeks twenty castles, of which the most important were Tortum, Nedshah, Mirachor, Aktchekalaa, Bengerd, and Istertud. After the happy termination of the campaign, he kissed the sultan's hand at Cholek, and was honoured with distinguished marks of favour in the way of dresses of ceremony and other imperial presents. Fourteen days after, the army commenced its retreat, and Suleiman happily reached Constantinople about the middle of December. A.D. 1549.

In the year 1552, while the Osman dominion was extended by important conquests in Hungary, the Persians had taken advantage of Suleiman's forces being withdrawn from Asia to cripple its power in that quarter. The sháh thought this a fair opportunity for the recovery of Arjis, Aadal- Occasion of war with Persia.

juwas, and Akhlát. In his attempt upon the first, he was baffled by the courage of the Kurdish amyr, Ibrahim; and Amyr Mustafa, the son of Sinan Páshá, compelled him to retire from the latter without accomplishing his purpose. At Akhlát he was more fortunate. The inhabitants were induced to leave the place voluntarily by means of a forged document; but, as soon as they had done so, were all butchered with their wives and children; besides which, Mir Ibrahim was killed at Arjis, and the castle dismantled, owing to an understanding with the Persians. Ismail Mirsa, the sháh's son, upon this bent his course to Erzerûm with a thousand men, took the commander Iskender Páshá in the rear, and defeated him so far, that the begs of Trapezus, Malatiah, Bosuk, and Karahissar were among the killed, and the Sandjak Beg Mahmud, and the aghas of the right and left wing of the regular cavalry, taken prisoners. Suleiman, however, did not forget the bravery which Iskender Páshá had manifested on this and other occasions, though the engagement terminated thus fatally. He sent him a letter written with his own hand, highly approving his conduct, in having made so vigorous a resistance against a force so far superior to his own; and accompanied the letter with a robe of honour, a sabre, and a baton. No doubt could now any longer exist as to the necessity of diverting the Osman arms from Hungary to Persia; the only point for consideration was, whether Suleiman should devolve the command on one of his vezírs, as he had the late

campaign in Hungary, or whether he should take the field in person, as usual. The army had been so inured to war and victory during eleven campaigns, and had been so animated by Suleiman's presence among them, that the last Hungarian campaign, with the exception of raising the siege of Erlau, was one continued series of victories. Temeswar, Szolnok, Lippa, and twenty-five castles, had been conquered. Suleiman, now near upon sixty years of age, and fatigued by eleven wars, which he had himself conducted, would gladly have intrusted the command to his vezírs, and preparations were made to that effect for entering upon the Persian war in the spring. But the alleged treason of Prince Mustafa altered Suleiman's resolution. The troops were disbanded; the grand vezír was recalled to Constantinople; and it was definitively settled, that Suleiman in the spring should himself take the command. And though proposals of peace were sent by the sháh through the agency of Sandjak Mahmud Beg, and the brother aghas of the right and left wing, who had been taken prisoners in the battle of Erzerûm, the supposed pressing danger arising from Mustafa did not allow the sultan at present to attend to them. The summer was now far advanced, when Suleiman passed over to Scutari to conduct the war in person. At Jenisheher, Prince Bāyezyd, the governor of Karaman, waited upon him, and was honoured with the appointment of regent at Adrianople during the sultan's absence. At Kutahiah, Suleiman received an embassy from Poland;

and at the autumnal equinox Prince Selim, governor of Ssaruchan, kissed hands at Bulawadin, and obtained permission to accompany his father in the campaign. When the army lay encamped a little beyond Eregli (Archelais), though in the neighbourhood of it, Prince Mustafa appeared, whose tent was pitched with great splendour next to that of his father. On the following day the vezírs kissed hands. The prince rode on the occasion a beautiful horse, which had been presented to him, and was conducted by the vezírs and janissaries, amidst loud applauses of the latter, as if to an audience of the sultan. But what was the horror of the unhappy prince, when he found, upon his entry into the tent, not his father the sultan—not any vezír—but only seven mutes, the frightful executioners of Suleiman's bloody mandate, who had strangled in sleep his grand vezír, his favourite, his friend, Ibrahim Páshá. These immediately fell upon him, and gagged him, so that it was in vain to appeal to the mercy and compassion of his father, though he was separated from him only by a thin silken partition. While this execution was going on within the tent, the prince's master of the horse, and another of his aghas, were beheaded in the camp. As soon as the news of this tragical event transpired among the soldiery, the janissaries threatened rebellion, and demanded the head of Rustem, the grand vezír, to whose intrigues they attributed this iniquitous proceeding. He was accordingly displaced, and Ahmed Páshá appointed in his room. The defterdar of the imperial trea-

Execution of Prince Mustafa.

sury repaired to the tent of the deceased prince to confiscate his property, but his servants were honoured with Timar and Siamet upon receiving their discharge; and the Ulema of Eregli was ordered to perform the usual funeral service over the corpse, which was conveyed to Brusa, and there interred in the sepulchre of Murad the Second. The grief both of the army and of the nation was universal at the death of the Prince Mustafa,—a death equally violent and unjust; he was a prince of excellent character, an encourager of literature and poetry, and had, in a peculiar degree, won the affections of the soldiery, as well as of the poets, his contemporaries. But most of all, the Prince Jehangyr took to heart his brother's untimely death. This prince, though labouring under the deformity of a hump-back, was singularly endowed by nature with every admirable quality of mind, and had formed as strong an attachment to Mustafa as one brother could feel for another. He was so deeply wounded by the murderous proceeding of his father, that all his natural buoyancy and sprightliness of disposition from that moment deserted him; he fell into the deepest melancholy, and soon died, in spite of all the efforts of his physicians. Suleiman, who had been often enlivened by his witty sallies, sincerely regretted and mourned his death, and ordered him to be interred by the side of his brother Muhammed, in the mosque which Muhammed had himself erected at Constantinople, which has ever since gone by the name of the Mosque, not of the Prince, but of the Princes.

The winter was passed at Haleb in the abolition of numerous illegal innovations, which had crept into the excise and exchequer departments. At the beginning of April the camp broke up, which the eunuch Ibrahim Páshá left for Constantinople, upon his nomination to the post of Kaimacham. On the third day after the sultan's arrival at Amid, he held an honorary general diwan of the army, to which, contrary to the usual mode of the diwans of the Porte, not the great officers of state, such as the vezírs, kadiaskers, defterdars, and nishanji, were admitted, but which was composed of the officers of the janissaries, the aghas, the kiaje, serdare, colonels, captains, commissaries, and paymasters, together with the life-guards. The sultan saluted them, inquired after their health, and then told them of the necessity of carrying arms for the defence of their faith and property to the heart of Persia itself. Old and young shed tears, and exclaimed; "At the command of our Padisháh we would go with pleasure, not merely to India and Sindh, but to the mountain of Kaf," (the fabulous utmost limit of the earth, according to the ideas of the Oriental geographers). The army proceeded on towards Erzerûm, Chabakchur, and the principal branch of the Euphrates (Murad) to Kargha-basari (the crow-marked). Here powder and ball were distributed among the soldiery. At Topchairi (the cannon-meadow) the kurds brought in prisoners. At Ssushehri, in a well-watered plain, the army was assembled at an honorary review. The grand vezír Ahmed, and the eunuch Ali Páshá, the

second vezír, vied with each other in splendour; but the rare arms of the troops of Romeili attracted general notice. They had just joined the army under the command of the Beglerbeg of Romeili, Muhammed Sokolli. Their peculiar costume consisted of panthers' skins hanging down over their shoulders, foxes' tails waving from their helmets, long iron spurs, enormous shields, armlets of a bright blue, iron gloves, red and white colours, and even the horses stained with henna. Six days after, the Prince Sultan Selim held an honorary review of the Anatolian troops, commanded by Beglerbeg Ahmed Páshá, by the Begs of Karaman and Sulkadr, and the Turkman begs, under the command of Haider Páshá. The troops of Sulkadr and Sivás were drawn up in the rear; the Beglerbegs of Erzerûm, Diarbeker, and Damascus, the Páshás of Aias, Iskender and Muhammed, in the van, on the right Prince Selim with the troops of Anatoli and Karaman, and on the left those of Romeili. In this order they marched to Kars, the border-fortress. From this place Suleiman sent to Sháh Tahmasp a declaration of war, in the form of a summons, couched in the same insolent and offensive language which his father Selim had used to Shah Ismail. The purport of it was fulfilled by ravaging the beautiful and fruitful plains of Nakhchevân and Revan, and the pleasant district of Karabagh. The parts of Shuregil, Sherabkhane, Nilfirak, were wasted; at Revan, the palace of the sháh, and that of his son, were destroyed; and the princely gardens of Sultania were

totally desolated. Six days after this the army was quartered at Arpa-chairi; and on the following day, at Karahissar, on the banks of the Araxes, the troops of Karaman sustained a partial defeat from an ambuscade of the Persians. The beautiful land of Karabagh was stripped and plundered of every thing; all the articles which could not be carried off were burnt. At Nakhchevân, not one stone was left upon another; the work of havoc was carried on in all the surrounding country to the distance of five days' journey. Upon intelligence being brought by scouts and deserters that the sháh was entrenched at the mountain of Lor, and from the consideration that the land all round was destroyed by fire and sword, a retreat was commenced. A spáhi, who had been taken prisoner, brought a letter of the sháh to the fortress Bāyezyd, as an answer to the former, in a no less unsuitable tone and style. Intelligence arrived here too, that the Kurdish beg of Amásiáh, Sultan Hussyn, who had made inroads into the territory of Maraga and Sehed, and afterwards established himself at Tachti Suleiman (Solomon's throne), the capital of Kurdistan, had been defeated; and that Hamsa Sultan, another of the principal Kurdish begs, had been totally annihilated. At this time, instead of carrying on the war on a more extended scale, a correspondence by letter took place between the sultan and sháh, of a tendency, indeed, more peaceful, but not more polite; and in a similar way between the ministers of the respective belligerent powers. Behind the Araxes, Ferhadbeg,

the sandjak of Kirkkilise, and at Konluja, Turakhan-oghli Omerbeg, gained some advantages over the enemy. When the bridge Choban was passed, and the army lay encamped at Hasankalaa, the Beglerbegs of Diarbeker and Van, together with the Kurdish begs, were dismissed with robes of honour, and admitted to kiss hands. At this solemnity there was an exhibition of the heads sent in by Sultan Hussyn, beg of Amásíah, from Takhti Suleiman, the capital of Kurdistan, which were stuck upon lances, and paraded through the army, the band all the time playing the loudest military airs. Upon news coming that the sháh had conquered several Georgian castles, the grand vezír was ordered, with four thousand janissaries from Saflik, and all the troops of Romeili, Anatoli, and Karaman, to proceed against him in this direction; but having already heard at Olti that the sháh had commenced his retreat, they resolved to return. Meantime the troops of Baghdád and Loristan had conquered the two Kurdish districts of Shehrsol and Belkass, with the castles belonging to them, and the begs of Kurdistan had also submitted with the castles. At length the regular Persian ambassador, whose coming had been wished for by Suleiman and his vezírs, appeared at Erzerûm with the first becoming letter; it was the Kuruchi Kachar, that is, captain of the sháh's lifeguards, named Shahkuli, who, in an audience of ceremony, begged an armistice, which he trusted would be observed by the Osmans as long as it should be observed on the part of the Persians.

Four days after this the sultan broke up from Erzerûm, after twenty marches reached Sivás, and in twelve more Amásíah, where the troops passed the winter. In the spring, Ishikaga Ferruchsadbeg, the first master of the ceremonies of the sháh, appeared at Amásíah, in the capacity of ambassador for negotiating a peace. He was the bearer of magnificent presents and a letter equally elegant; which, after expressions highly complimentary to the prophet, abounding in Arabic phrases and solemn assurances of peace, concluded with the request of the undisturbed pilgrimage of the Persian pilgrims going to the holy cities of Islam. The ambassador was loaded with expressions of esteem, and presents were lavished upon him. The Persian letter was answered by one in Turkish, less elegant in style, but more to the purpose. "That relations "of peace should be maintained, as long as they "were not violated by the Persians; that the com- "mandants of the Osman frontiers should close every "possible avenue to all occasions of rupture, and "take at all times every possible precaution, and "exert their utmost vigilance for securing the safe- "conduct of Moslem pilgrims visiting Mecca and "Medina." This letter is the first official document of any peace formally concluded between Persia and the Porte; for, during the last half century, that is, since the establishment of the dynasty of the Ssaffi by Sháh Ismail; there had been a cessation of hostilities since the battle of Chaldiran, without an assurance of peace from the opposite side, and the two kingdoms stood as it were in

Persian ambassador sent to negotiate peace.

hostile array against each other, ready, whenever an opportunity offered, effectually to strengthen by bloodshed that religious hate which divides the Sunni and the Shii. By this first peace concluded with the Persians at Amásíah, Suleiman secured the Osman dominions in Asia. The treaty was signed on the twenty-ninth of May, a day remarkable as being the same on which, one hundred and twenty years before, Suleiman's great ancestor, Muhammed, had laid the firm foundation of the Osman power in Europe by the conquest of Constantinople. Y. of H. 962. A.D. 1555.

Suleiman's career was yet again stained by the murder of another of his sons, Prince Bāyezyd. The sultan's relentless persecution of this prince, and the mercenary intrigues of the Persian court for the mere gratification of Suleiman's revenge, are but little palliated by the allegation, that the succession to the throne might by possibility have been endangered. But a very partial, and perhaps a very unjust, view of Suleiman's character would be taken by any one, who should attempt a sketch of it from the foregoing pages, which comprise only slender and detached portions of the history of a reign prolonged through a period of forty-six years. Suleiman's legislative enactments, his taste in architecture and the polite arts, his career of victory, his jealous cruelty, his vindictive and ferocious persecution of a son, his compliance even to weakness with Ibrahim, and his uxorious yielding to Roxalana,—these all form the groundwork of the following delineation, in

which, according to our conceptions, ample justice is rendered both to his virtues, his talents, and his good fortune; while the veil is, at the same time, gently drawn aside from his crimes, — with the hand of charity, but without favouritism.

Suleiman's character.

In replying to the question, how far Suleiman, the legislator, the conqueror, the powerful, the magnificent, deserves the appellation of a great man, it is not within the province of the historian to detract from his merits, either as a great general or as a great statesman, merely because his grand vezírs Ibrahim and Rustem shared his victories; and that his wise-modelling of the laws of Islam was in no less degree forwarded by his statesmen Kemal-pashasade and Ebusuud, or his secretaries of state Jelalsade and Muhammed Egri Abdi. To the completion of great plans fit instruments are necessary; and, therefore, the very selection of great generals and ministers, and the full confidence reposed in them by a sovereign, are a pledge of his own real greatness. It is much more incumbent to shew, were it possible to do so, that Suleiman did not err on the side of transferring to their hands too great a share of power, as well as of undue obsequiousness to his harem; whether, owing to his excessive and facile yielding, on the one hand, which so easily slides into weakness, and, on the other hand, to that extreme severity which is so closely allied to cruelty, he has not forfeited his claim to the noblest of titles, that of a great man. Certainly he was domineered over by his favourite Ibrahim, and by his wife Roxalana

the Russian, in the last of whom his affections were most fondly centered, in a manner incompatible with the dignity of a great monarch; and when his eyes were opened to the sight of his abused indulgence, though too late to remedy the evil, he then had recourse to the sanguinary expedient of assassinating his favourite and friend; and, after the death of Roxalana, did not scruple, in the face of the world, to pursue to the death the unhappy prince Bāyezyd, his son, who had been excluded by Roxalana from the succession, and to involve also in the murder of their father Bāyezyd's five sons, his own grandchildren. And even admitting that the executions of so many other men distinguished for their office or ability during his reign, might be imputed not to any cruelty of disposition, but that they might be extenuated on the ground of expediency and state-policy, still the perfidious murders of his two grand-vezírs, of Ibrahim by private assassination, and of Ahmed Páshá by the executioner, will for ever tarnish the brilliancy of his exploits. With the exception of his secretaries of state, all the higher officers of government, both civil and military, were handed over to the axe or to the bowstring. The grand-vezír, Kapudan Páshá, the Agha of the janissaries and spáhis; the first defterdar, Iskender Chelebi; the two reis effendi, Piri and Haider; the admiral of the fleet, Piri; the Ulema Kabis; the Sheikh Hamsa; the viceroys of the most illustrious families of the kingdom, of Scutari, of Buda, of Romeili, (the latter Suleiman's brother-in-law); in short,

the son of his great-uncle Jem, together with his grandson, and even his own children and grandchildren; Mustafa and his son, who was yet a minor; Bāyezyd and his five sons—ten princes of the blood-royal—all fell as victims of his sanguinary mandates. But, on the other hand, justice requires us to recollect those qualifications, achievements, and deeds, which undeniably bear the stamp of greatness,—his magnanimity, his spirit of enterprise, his lofty courage, his rigid observance of Islamism united with so much toleration, his political economy combined with so much magnificence, and his love of science coupled with his proportionally liberal patronage of its professors. We are constrained to the recollection of his thirteen campaigns, conducted by himself in person, his battles, and his conquests. Rhodes and Belgrade were both taken by him in the very beginning of his reign; the former commanding the sea, the latter the land on that side; while Ofen (Buda) and Baghdád were, in the course of seven years, incorporated as an integral part of the empire. To these must be added the conquests of Gyula and Szigeth in his last campaigns; the Osman standards planted in front of Diu and Vienna; and the extension of the empire eastward as far as Wan, and to the fortress of Gran westward, and towards the south carried, by the reduction of Algiers and Tripoli, even to the very borders of Nubia. His land-forces were scattered from the foot of Ararat and the plain of Nakhcheván to the foot of the Semmering-pass and the Styrian Alps, ravaging

and sweeping all before them. His expeditions by sea convey no mean idea of his power on that element, when, under Barbarossa and Torghud, both the Arabian and Persian gulfs, and the Mediterranean and Archipelago, were witnesses of the Osman fleets making a descent at one time upon Apulia and Calabria, or Sicily and Corsica, and besieging Marseilles at the mouth of the Rhone;—at another time conquering Bassra at the mouth of the Tigris, and again in turn watering at the mouth of the Tiber, so as to cause the greatest consternation in the capital of Italy. Nor must we suffer to pass unnoticed those masterpieces of Osman architecture, the edifices with which Suleiman embellished Constantinople, the Sulimanian and six other mosques, as well as the same number in the provinces; the reparation and beautifying of Justinian's aqueduct at Constantinople, and of that which Harun Rashid's consort had established at Mecca; the repose of Jerusalem secured by firm walls, and the supplies of Constantinople no longer subject to casualties by the erection of a bridge from Jekmeje. And, finally, least of all must we forget that most important memorial of his greatness in the eyes of his subjects, and which gained him the appellation of the Legislator of Islam,—the code of laws framed by him, comprising every branch of the administration of an empire. If, therefore, in looking at his facile subjection to his wife, a weakness which was too excessive to be termed gentleness, and at his unfeeling severity to his sons and grandchildren, we are compelled

to refuse him the title of the great man, we are equally compelled to acknowledge his claim to that of the great sovereign. Exempted as he was from those meaner crimes and weaknesses which disgraced Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople, Suleiman is the more justly entitled of the two monarchs to the name of Great. It was he who raised the Osman empire to its highest summit of greatness, of power, and magnificence,—Suleiman, the legislator, the conqueror, the mighty, the magnificent, the great—the only sultan of the Osmanlis who has been dignified with, or who has any pretensions to, this honourable distinction.

CHAPTER XI.

MURAD THE THIRD.

YEAR OF HIJRAH, 984. A.D. 1576.

War with Persia soon after Murad's Accession to the Throne —March of Army from Scutari—Grand Vezír's Superstition —Georgian Princes send in their Adhesion to the Grand Vezír—Castles surrender after the Battle of Childer—Occupation of Teflis—Defeat of Persian Army—Territory of Georgia divided into four Governments—Return of Osman Army to Erzerûm—Fortress of Kars repaired—Scarcity of Provision in the Garrison of Teflis—Revan fortified—The Druses—War with the Druse Princes in Syria—Osman Troops march to Aserbaijan—Tabríz entered and plundered —Description of the place—The Osmans defeated in four successive Engagements by the Persian Prince Hamsa, who was afterwards assassinated—Peace concluded with Persia—Death of Murad—His character—Extent of the Osman Empire at this period.

SIXTEEN months after Murad's accession to the throne, a more splendid embassy arrived from Persia to congratulate him on that event than had ever been hitherto seen at Constantinople. But while the Persian ambassador was actually resident there, two circumstances concurred to hasten a war with a power whose amicable dispositions were thus unequivocally testified. These were the death of Sháh Tahmasp, who died by poison, after a reign of fifty-four years, and the appearance of a comet; which latter event, according to the old A.D. 1576.

popular belief, portended the death of sovereigns and the revolution of empires. The mufti, and the architect of the subterranean observatory at Galata, and the astronomer-royal, agreed in their calculations, that this was the very comet which had already appeared eleven times, though at very unequal intervals; for this same comet is said to have prognosticated the death of Abel, the Deluge, Nimrod's tyranny against Abraham, the decline of the families, first of Aad and afterwards of Themud, the birth of Moses, the fall of Pharaoh, the battle of Bedr, the murder of Osman and Ali, and the reign of Jesid; sometimes after a lapse of ten years—sometimes after that of whole centuries; and that it now made its appearance for the twelfth time.

Appearance of comet.

In order to convert belief into certainty, Chosrew Páshá, the governor of Van, effectually urged the Porte to war by an official announcement of the distractions of Persia, which had been occasioned by family dissensions and the weakness of the new monarch; alleging, that war became a holy duty in obedience to so many fetva issued against the Shii. War, therefore, was resolved on; and Mustafa Páshá appointed commander-in-chief. Five thousand janissaries, the corps of spahis, the several páshás of Diarbeker, Erzerûm, Sulkadr, Haleb, and Karaman, with their sandjaks and spáhis, as well as the former governor of Diarbeker, and the Khan of the Crimea with his cavalry, were all under his orders; and the patent of his appointment as commander-in-chief of the expedition against Shir-

wan was made out accordingly. Mustafa, with a foresight and prudence which shewed that he possessed the talents of a great general, sent letters announcing his nomination, not only to the above-named governors, and the sandjaks begs of Pasin and Shusad, to summon their respective quotas of men, but also to the different princes on the borders of Georgia, with a view to sound their dispositions, and requiring their co-operation. Letters, all of the same purport, were forwarded to the petty sovereigns of those countries which are situated between the Black and the Caspian Seas, to the north of Persia, viz. Shirwan, Daghistan, Georgia, and Circassia.

At the end of March, in the following year, news was received of an important disgrace sustained on the Persian frontier. The Beglerbeg of Shehrsor, the capital of Kurdistan, had been driven back into his castle, and all the cattle in the neighbourhood of Baghdád slaughtered by the Persians. This intelligence determined the seraskier to hasten his preparations for war; and having had an audience of leave of the sultan, he set out for Scutari at the beginning of April, and at the end of the month broke up his encampment thence. He did not, however, reach Nicomedia till the seventh day; a long time for so short a distance, that place being only the regular march of one day and a half from Scutari. Here the janissaries were in barracks; and permission was granted them to march by way of Boli to Erzerûm, where they would find the seraskier, who, with the other forces, took the

road thither by way of Konia. Upon reaching this place, Mustafa wished to inform himself of the issue of the campaign, and for this purpose repaired to the grave of the great mystical poet Jelaleddin Rumi. At this holy spot he opened at random the famous mystical work Mesnewi, by means of a needle thrust into the book. Happily the needle chanced to pitch upon the passage which gives an account of Alexander's expedition to the mountain Kaf, and this was regarded as a presage of victory. At Sívás, official information arrived from the beglerbeg governor of Van of some advantages gained over the Persians, and from those of Erzerûm and Haleb mentioning the great scarcity of provisions in their country; besides letters of submission from the Circassian princes of Guriel and Colchis, the latter of whom had the imperial title of Dadian.

At Kojhissar the army encountered a violent storm. To disperse one of a more serious nature, which was gathering from an insurrection, set on foot by the Turkman Sham Bijad, in the government of Sulkadr at Elbistan, the necessary precautions were taken, and orders to that effect sent to Shemsi Páshá, the sultan's favourite and confidential servant, and to Seadeddin, the sultan's reader. On the plain of Chermik, before Erzerûm, the camp was joined by the janissaries, who had taken the road of Boli, as well as by the governors of Diarbeker, Sívás, Karaman, and Sulkadr, with their contingents, and by Usdemir Osman Páshá with his cavalry. The heads of one thousand Persians arrived, which Jusuf, the sandjak of Kars,

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had struck off in the district of Janbas Chukuri; and, at the same time, letters of submission from the Prince of Daghistan; from Shemchal, the lord of the Kaitaks and Kumuks; from Ghasi Reshid Oghli, the commandant of Tabaseran, on the coast of the Caspian sea; from Tuche Lawik, the commandant of Awar; from Mirsa Shahrūkh, of the family of the shâhs of Shirwan; and from the Georgian prince Gregor, the lord of the district of Bash Achuck, (Imirette); to which suitable answers were returned, expressive of friendship and attachment. The Beglerbeg of Van, Chosrew Páshá, sent his kiaja with a request to be reinforced by a beglerbeg and a Kurdish sandjak, complaining of not being supported as he ought by Seinolbeg, who did not come to the help of the Beg of Selmas when besieged in his castle by the Persians. Upon this a written notification was despatched to him, implying how much the seraskier was surprised at his conduct. Tokmak-khan, the late Persian ambassador at Constantinople, and now the commander of the Persian army on the frontier, sent a letter to the Governor of Erzerûm, in which he both avowed his ignorance of the reasons for the violation of those relations of peace which had previously subsisted, and begged to know the causes of the hostile irruption made by Jusuf into the district of Janbas Chukuri. The governor returned a polite answer, throwing, however, all the blame of the injury done on the frontier upon the vezír; but when Tokmak-khan, at the head of thirty thousand Persians, retaliated by making an inroad into

the government of Childir (at that time, and also at the present moment, the most northern point of the kingdom, on the side of Georgia), ravaging the country, and pillaging the Sandjak of Ardehan, Mustafa Páshá sent him a letter abounding in vituperative epithets, with a pompous exaggeration of the forces of the border-commandants, who were collected under Mustafa's orders to act against Tokmak. After the arrival of the caravans at Chermik, where the camp lay, consisting of four hundred teams of camels, each team with seven camels, of which twenty-six were assigned to carrying the treasure, a hundred and fifty to the ammunition, a hundred and fifteen to the janissaries, and the remainder for the other baggage of the army,—the scarcity of provision which had prevailed was removed; upon which the army broke up from Chermik, and encamped fourteen days afterwards before the castle of Ardehan. Here there took place a procession of the heads of some Persians stuck upon lances, amidst fifes playing and drums beating, the result of a battle in which the Governor of Van had been successful over the Persian general Amyr-khan. Three days after, the army passed forward from Ardehan to beyond the boundary line of Georgia, and on the following day gave battle to Tokmak-khan in front of Childir, a small fortress of Georgia which has the nickname of the Devil's Castle. The battle was decisive, and in favour of the Osmanlis, though attended with the loss of many of their bravest men, and among them seven Kurdish begs. In consequence of this

victory, the castles of Wele, Jenikalaa, Aktchekalaa, and Childir, surrendered.

The widow of Keichosrew, the old dowager Dede Semid, mother of the two princes Minochehr and Gregor, at that time reigned over the district of Georgia which lies nearest to the Turkish territory. Mustafa therefore had, a few weeks previous to the battle of Childir, given Minochehr, the younger of the two brothers, a written invitation, in order to detach him, as well as his mother and brother, from the service of Persia, whose dependents they had hitherto been. Minochehr returned a submissive answer, but requested that some stipulations might be made, and a diploma granted him: points which were so far conceded, that the sandjak of Asghur was granted to himself, and to his brother Gregor that of Olti; while to his mother and other brothers villages were given, with feudal investiture. David-khan, the lord of Teflis, of the family of Luarssab, was less willing to submit to Turkish slavery. He adhered to the Persian interest, being Shâh Tahmasp's father-in-law. He made no reply to the seraskier's letter, and, upon the advance of the army towards Teflis, took to flight. The two petty sovereigns of the other branch of the royal family of Georgia, the Prince of Imirette, George Bashachuk, and the Prince of Kachet, Lewan, were rival candidates with Mustafa for the government of Teflis. The first wished it to be conferred as an hereditary sandjak on his son, the other begged it for himself. Before the place had fallen into his hands, Mustafa had held out

hopes of the investiture to this latter by a written document, in which he pressed him to become a convert to Islamism, and referred the son of Lewan to that instrument. But as Alexander refused to change his religion, he merely received the diploma of investiture for the castles of Sakuni and Kerum; and Teflis was bestowed as a sandjak on Muhammed-beg, the son of the one-handed Ferhad Páshá, with two thousand men and a hundred cannons for the defence of the fortress.

Teflis, which, like Tabríz, has its name from the warm-baths (Tebile), and which, according to tradition among the Georgians, is said to have been built by Alexander the Great, is described by the historian Aali as very much resembling the cities of Buda and Pest. Mustafa Páshá changed two churches into mosques, in which Friday's service was performed on the first day of the occupation of the city by the army. Ten days afterwards, Mustafa took up a position with his troops on the banks of the Konak, which winds somewhat above the town of Aresh, and below the river of Genje (Kurjai), which flows into it from the opposite right bank of the Kur, and the difficulty of whose passage was not so easily surmounted as the obstructions upon the road to Teflis presented by the woods and morasses, which so far had been overcome. Provision was so scarce, that the kilo* of

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* The kilo equals 39$\frac{1}{15}$th English pecks. The okka, or oke, varies, being of three kinds; the lesser oke of Smyrna weighing 13oz. 2dr., the middle oke 1lb. 11oz. 6dr., and the greater 2lb. 11oz. 3dr.

barley cost six ducats, the okka of flour half a ducat. Ten thousand men were sent into the fields to reap corn, where an ambuscade having been laid for them by the Persian khans Tokmak, Amyr-khan, and Imamkuli-khan, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces. But the Persians having, in their too eager pursuit of the foragers, got unawares between the camp and the peninsula formed by the rivers Konak and Kur, Mustafa drew up his men in order of battle, which the enemy found themselves compelled to accept. Dervish Páshá commanded the left wing, Behram Páshá the right, and Mustafa the centre. Three thousand Persians were left dead on the field. The khans tried to escape over the bridge of the Konak, but it broke down, and numbers of the army were drowned. The khans then dispersed to the respective capitals of their governments, Genje, Revan, Nakhchévan, waiting till they should receive the sháh's further orders from Kaswin.

Defeat of Persians near the Kur.

But neither this victory, nor the intelligence which arrived at the same time of Alexander Lewan, as an Osman sandjak, having conquered the strong castle of Sheki, which lies on the north-east, opposite Caucasus, was sufficient to encourage the Osman army to so dangerous an enterprise as that of crossing the Konak (which was now swollen to a great height) after the bridge was broken down. The janissaries murmured, and were clamorous in their determination to return home under the conduct of the Beglerbeg of Sulkadr, whom they had chosen for their chief. Happily he succeeded in

bringing them back to their duty. Mustafa set his soldiers the example of passing the river, as Alexander the Great did at the passage of the Tigris. The army followed: more than a thousand were swallowed up by the stream. To reward the courage of those who were so fortunate as to reach the opposite side, the seraskier gave to five jajabashi (officers of the infantry) the places of chaush, to a hundred janissaries he gave cavalry fiefs, sixty archers he promoted to the life-guards, and thirty from the same body he constituted kurudji; rewarding the children of all who shared the danger with an allowance of an asper per day, equivalent to the pay of the ajemoghlan, or the young recruits intended for the corps of janissaries. The city of Sheki, deserted by the Persian commandant, surrendered to the conquerors; on the first Friday prayer was performed from the pulpit in Sultan Murad's name, in the mosque, which for fifty years had seen no imam; and the Sheikh Walihi, the mystic poet, a friend of the historian Aali, edified the Moslems by a salutary discourse, for which he was afterwards rewarded with a professor's chair at Shamaki, to which a salary was annexed of fifty aspers per day. Aresh being an important point to defend the communication between the Caucasus and Georgia, the park of the shâh was secured like a castle, with a trench five yards deep, and a strong wall; the bridge over the Konak was repaired, and the completion of the building was celebrated by a general discharge of artillery. In solemn divan the seraskier bestowed upon four beglerbegs the

Georgian territory, which he parcelled out into four governments even before the conquest was perfectly completed. The government of Shirwan, which yet remained to be subdued, was offered to the governor of Diarbeker, and upon his declining it, was granted to Usdemir Osman Páshá, the conqueror of Jemen, with two million aspers; that of Teflis to Muhammed Páshá, with one million aspers; that of Gurgistan (Kachéti) to Lewan's son Alexander, with reversion to his heirs; that of Suchum to Haider Páshá, with eight hundred thousand aspers. Sixty cannons and a hundred and eighty chests of ammunition were granted to the governor of Shirwan, with a garrison of three thousand janissaries, who received six months' pay in advance. The revenues of Shirwan, which yielded to the sháh an annual revenue of twenty-five million two hundred thousand aspers (so rich was the farming of the tithe of silks, of the salt-works, of the rice-fields, and of the naphtha-wells), were farmed for the sultan by officers of the treasury named for this purpose; the government of Shirwan was divided into fourteen sandjaks, and that of Derbend into seven. Upon the march back to Teflis and Erzerûm, George Bashachuk, the brother of the Lord of Imirette, and the son of the Prince of Guriel, came to do homage to the seraskier at Gori. From the ill-will of the inhabitants, the difficulties of the narrow pass of Suran were considerably increased. After a long and tedious march, which was accomplished only with great labour, the army encamped near the castle Pelenk, having passed previously that of Asghur, the residence of the

Georgian territory divided.

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widow of Keichosrew, the dowager Dede Semid. The fifth station after Asghur was at Great Ardehan. From the station of Kopri-bashi (head-bridge) official accounts of the whole campaign were transmitted to Constantinople; and the army continued its march forward from Olti and Pasin to winter-quarters at Erzerûm, having made sixty-five encampments between Constantinople and Erzerûm; and from Erzerûm to Aresh (the utmost point of the campaign), and back again to Erzerûm, sixty-nine encampments; and, consequently, within eight months, altogether a hundred and thirty-five* encampments. The loss of the Turks in the campaign far exceeded that of the Persians.

Close of campaign.

In the mean time the Crown Prince of Persia, Hamsa Mirsa, set out with his mother, a spirited woman, who was the queen-regent acting in behalf of her blind husband Chodabende, from Shirwan against Aresh, before whose walls the Beglerbeg of Erzerûm fell with great loss. Osman Páshá was besieged three days in Shirwan, which he found himself compelled to abandon, and fortunately made his way without opposition to Derbend, where he hoped to be able to encounter the severities of a winter spent in the Caucasus. These rapid changes in the fortune of the war made the sultan particularly anxious to erect a border-fortress of extraordinary strength, for the maintenance of the conquered lands. The fortress of Kars, therefore,

Kars fortified.

* The author reckons a hundred and thirty-five halts, as given in the text, from the Nussretname, or book of victory, comprising the history of the first Georgian campaign under Murad III.

was commenced on an enormous scale; and, at a great expense of money and labour, within the next summer, in the midst of a snow-storm, was entirely completed. The circumference of the walls of the upper castle and the fortress below amounted to four thousand yards. Seven beglerbegs and páshás undertook each the building of one of the seven bastions. Kars, which was thus named by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in later times the residence of the Pagratidæ, destroyed by Timūr, and again rebuilt by Sultan Murad, continues to the present time the protection of Turkey on the Georgian side, and is the residence of the governor.

While Mustafa was in winter-quarters at Erzerûm, the garrison of Teflis was reduced to extremities, from a famine within and a besieging army without. In consequence of the communication with the Osman army being cut off, and the presence of Imankuli-khān, accompanied by Simon Luarssab, the former lord of Teflis, who now as a Moslem marched under the banners of Persia with ten thousand men, provisions were so scarce that the kilo of wheat cost one thousand aspers, and that of barley eight hundred. The garrison held out bravely, though their numbers were frightfully diminished from two thousand to seven hundred men. A horse was not to be purchased under seven thousand aspers, nor an ass under two thousand. The beglerbeg expended more than fifty thousand ducats in procuring common conveniences. At last provisions arrived, brought by the Kapudan Páshá Uluj, from Constantinople to

Teflis besieged.

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Trapezus, on board thirty galleys and transports, together with all materials necessary for the building of Kars; and Hasan Páshá was sent to relieve Teflis, which he entirely succeeded in doing. Usdemir Osman had contracted a marriage in Daghistan with the daughter of Shemchal, who, however, wished to abuse the match to the ruin of his son-in-law, and was consequently sacrificed to his resentment. It was to revenge the death of his father Shemchal that Imankuli-khān besieged Teflis, which, as we have said, experienced all the severest miseries of famine, while the Osmans retaliated by ravaging the country in the neighbourhood of Revan. Mustafa was afterwards displaced from his command as seraskier, and succeeded by Sinan Páshá, whose ill success in Georgia occasioned his removal also within two years.

Revan fortified.

In the mean time, some serious disturbances took place in Georgia, which made the fortification of Revan a matter of the first necessity. The first foundation of this place, which is now so important a border-fortress of Persia against both Turkey and Russia, was laid by a merchant under the protection of Timūr, who settled here for the sake of cultivating rice, in which he found a profitable return. Sháh Ismail commanded his khan Revan to build a castle here, which, after him, was called Revan or Eriwan. Ferhad Páshá, the then Osman grand vezír, surrounded the old palace, which had become dilapidated, with walls; eight towers were raised in the inner, and forty-three in the outer castle; seven hundred and twenty-five embrasures were introduced into the former, and one thousand seven

hundred and twenty-six into the latter. Fifty-three cannons were dragged into the place, and the work was completed within forty-three days. The garrison consisted of a beglerbeg, at the annual salary of nine hundred thousand aspers, with a defterdar under him, at a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand aspers, that of the begs being fixed at seventy-three thousand eight hundred and ninety, as forage-money; together with a body of troops to the number of six thousand two hundred and fifty men, composed of five hundred and fifty mute-ferrika, one thousand four hundred volunteers of the right wing, and one thousand of the left; five hundred mounted musketeers, four hundred Cherkissians, one thousand spáhioghli, five hundred cannoneers, five hundred asabes, two hundred engineers, and two hundred artillery-men. All the castles in the neighbourhood were also strongly garrisoned. Ferhad Páshá, being very unpopular with the army, was soon succeeded in office by Usdemir Osman Páshá, who had gained the sultan's favour by a very successful campaign in Daghistan, and had been very graciously received at Constantinople.

While these things were going on in Georgia, Ibrahim, the viceroy of Egypt, received the sultan's command to march into Syria, for the purpose of subduing the rebel beg of the Druses, Maanoghli, who was at that time master of the Syrian coast of Ssaida (Sidon) and Akka (Ptolemais). Y. of H. 993. A.D. 1585.

The Druses, who have derived their modern name from a teacher of the doctrine of the incar-

The Druses.

nation of the Egyptian Chalif Hakimbiemrillah, are the descendants of the old brave mountaineers, the Mardi or Mardaites, a people whose original and native settlements were in the countries situated on the north of the Caspian sea, but who were transported by the Byzantine emperors to the mountains of Syria and Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia, the fortified city of Mardin (formerly Mardi) still bears their name; and on the Jeudi mountains, their posterity, either as Guebres, or Shemsí, or Nossairi and Jesidees, are adorers of fire, of the sun, the moon, the matrix, the devil. The Mardi on mount Libanus, who are just as much disposed to believe and worship the most incredible things as their brethren at Mardin, acknowledge that most absurd and frantic of all tyrants, the Chalif Hakimbiemrillah, the destroyer of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, as God incarnate—a doctrine which they embraced about the beginning of the twelfth century; holding many other tenets, both speculative and moral, worthy of such a confession of faith, but which are, even to this day, partly involved in mysterious secrecy. The Druses are divided into two chief tribes: the one of them is the tribe of the Teimani, or the Amyr Shehab, whose posterity are now subject to a prince of the same name, ruling over the district adjoining Mount Libanus, and the seat of whose government is Deir-ōl-kamr, that is, the monastery; the other tribe is that of Ibn Maan, which, in Murad's reign, had the ascendancy. That splitting into two sects of the Jemanije and Kaisije, that is,

the favourers of Jemen and his opponents, a division partly of a religious and partly of a political nature—which ever since the second century (of the Hijrah) had been a source of deadly hatred between the several Arabian tribes inhabiting Syria—had the effect of dividing also the five princes of the Druses, who were at that time so many separate independent lords of the Syrian coast and of Libanus. The prince Maanoghli, lord of Ssaida, Sur, and Akka, the most powerful of the five, and Sherefeddin, who was the petty master of only a very small district north of Ssaida, were the Jemenites, or the Reds. The three others were of the Kais party, or the Whites. They were Ibn Manssur, lord of the tract between Beirut and Tripolis, whose residence was at Kesrewan (Kesrouan), under the shadows of the cedars of Lebanon; Ibn Firak, lord of the eastern side of Lebanon, whose domain reached to the plain of Cœlo-Syria; and Ali Ibn Karfus, who ruled over the beautiful vale between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and resided at Baalbek, the city of the sun. These three, enemies to their kin, and devoted to the Osmans, proceeded as far as Jerusalem with six thousand men to meet the vezír Ibrahim Páshá, and offered him their services against their relatives.

War with the Druses.

Ibrahim encamped on the plain of Damascus, whence he despatched written invitations to the two rebel princes Sherefeddin and Maanoghli. The former readily obeyed the summons, and was rewarded for his obsequiousness by being thrown into irons. Maan excused his non-compliance by

alleging that he had solemnly sworn never to approach an Osman from the time that his father had been treacherously put to death by Mustafa Páshá, the viceroy of Damascus, who, under the guise of friendship, had decoyed him into his snares. Ibrahim, therefore, entered Maan's territory, carrying fire and sword through forty-four villages. But at the same time, a troop of Druses had surprised Oweis Páshá and his son, who had remained behind in the plain of Damascus, and killed five hundred of the enemy. During twenty-four days, Ibrahim lay encamped on the heights of Antara, in the neighbourhood of Maan's residence, having sent to the Amyr the Páshá of Haleb, Ali, together with Gomeidha, a creature of Manssur's, as negotiator, with the view of inducing Maan, if not to pay him a visit, at least to deliver up his treasures and arms. Maan, willing to ransom himself, sent by the páshá three hundred and twenty muskets, twenty bags of the most beautiful Antara silk, and fifty thousand ducats; while his mother repaired in person to the vezír's camp, to excuse her son on the ground of the oath which he had taken. Upon this, Ibrahim, taking up two beautifully wrought veils, threw one over himself and the other over his visiter, as her son's plenipotentiary, evidently implying by this action that a veil was thrown over all the past. But as Maan still did not make his appearance, Gomeidha was a second time commissioned to extort fifty thousand ducats, besides four hundred and eighty muskets, one hundred and ten goats, one hundred and fifty horses, one hundred and fifty

buffaloes, a thousand oxen, two hundred sheep; and Ibrahim, not contented with these, once more sent Gomeidha and obtained ten gilded daggers, with belts silvered over, and ten bags of silk and gold. Not caring after this to extort any more under the mask of friendship, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, the perjured Slavonian (Ibrahim) exhausted the residue by fire and sword. Antara, the residence of Maan, and nineteen villages, were reduced to ashes. The mokaddem, that is, the intendant of Antara, had retired for security to a steep mountain, accompanied by three hundred and fifty men. He suffered himself to be seduced by Ibrahim's promises to go to the Osman camp, where these three hundred and fifty brave men, who had surrendered in the fullest reliance on the pledges given by the enemy, were shot and sabred in a body, and their leader, the mokaddem, was flayed alive. He died uttering the most abusive reproaches against Ibrahim, and loading him with the opprobrious epithets of renegade, perjured, and oppressor. While this was taking place on the mountain, the coast was ravaged by four thousand soldiers, whom the fleet had disembarked at Ssaida, and who carried off three thousand slaves. Ibrahim continued twelve days longer at Damascus, whence he despatched the investiture of the principality of Libanus to Ibn Karfus, as being the richest of the three Druse princes who did homage to him, with the usual ceremonies of a sabre and banner; and then set out for Beirut, where he summoned Ibn Manssur, who had hitherto farmed the revenues of

Tripolis and Beirut, and frightened him with the requisition of a hundred and sixty thousand ducats for the custom-duties of Beirut and Tripolis. In vain Ibn Manssur sought to gain time. The Slavonian was an overmatch for the Druse. He invited Manssur to come to him at midnight, attended only by a small retinue, who, as he pretended, were to serve him as guides in a fresh inroad upon Maan's territory. Manssur expected to avail himself of this opportunity to escape in the night; but he was taken, and, with Sherefeddin, thrown into chains, and, being forced on ship-board, conveyed to Constantinople to adorn the triumphal entry of Ibrahim.

Meantime affairs in the Crimea (Chersonesus Taurica) had caused a short diversion in favour of Persia; but these were no sooner arranged than Osman Páshá pressed forward from Kostamūni to Erzerûm at the head of his army, which he had reduced from two hundred thousand to forty thousand men, having disbanded the rest, from the probability of being straitened for provisions. Already, indeed, this scarcity of food caused some discontents at Erzerûm, and still more in the plains of Chaldiran, where the vezír Chighalisade, governor of Van, came to meet the army with six hundred picked troops; and, after a view of the whole force, the line of route, which had been hitherto in the direction of Nakhchévan, was changed to Tabríz. The army proceeded by Merend and Khúi. Close to the little place Sofian, the vanguard of the army was surprised by the brave Persian prince Hamsa,

and defeated, with the loss of seven thousand men; to avenge which the grand-vezír despatched forward the son of Cicala with seventeen thousand men, and the governor of Diarbeker, Muhammed Páshá, who gave the Persians battle. The loss was equal on both sides, and the grand-vezír then encamped before the gates of Tabríz at Shenb Ghasan, that is, the magnificent tomb of the Mogul emperor Ghasan. Alikuli-khān was in the city with only one thousand men; because, after the death of Amyr-khān, the head of the Turkmans, no Turkman-tribe would take the field under Alikuli-khān, their avowed enemy. A sally which he made upon Cicala's camp cost the latter three thousand men, and among them was the Páshá of Meroesh. Alikuli-khān withdrew in the night-time, leaving the city in the power of the Osmans; and though the grand-vezír wished to forbid unnecessary bloodshed and plunder, yet a jealous soldiery found a pretext for universal massacre and robbery, from the circumstances of some Turks being found dead in a bath. For three days and three nights in succession the unhappy capital of Aserbáijan was a scene of slaughter and devastation. Tabríz, whose name may signify warm-flowing, as well as fever-escaping, probably the Gabris of Ptolemy, claims the honour of having been founded, according to Oriental writers, by the Princess Zobeide, the wife of the Chalif Harum Rashid. Destroyed sixty-nine years after by an earthquake, and rebuilt by the Chalif Motewekkil, and that too under the talismanic influence of the

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Description of Tabríz.

scorpion, which is said to avert earthquakes, though not floods,—Tabríz was beautified in the highest degree by the Mogul emperor Ghasan, who surrounded it with a wall six thousand yards in circumference, and at the distance of a short half-hour built for himself a handsome monument. The basar and meidan, that is, the market-place and race-course, are considered among the handsomest in Persia. The plain of Tabríz, which branches out from the mountain Sehend to the lake of Urmia, or Rhumia, is compared for its beauty, by Oriental writers, not only with the four earthly paradises of the East, but with the eight celestial ones, and is on this account called the Eighth Paradise. Excellent apples, pears, apricots, and grapes, grow spontaneously. Its manufactures consist of woollen and silk stuffs; among which the striped kassabderjai appears to be the same kind of dress as that formerly worn by the Sarangæ, a people of ancient Persia. As other Persian cities are famous for the sepulchres of the descendants of imams or other saints, so is Tabríz celebrated as being either the birth-place or the place of interment of the greatest Persian poets. The grand-vezír, upon occupying so beautiful a place, resolved immediately to fortify it, so that in the space of thirty-five days the city was surrounded with a wall twelve thousand seven hundred yards in circumference. Though he was in a very precarious state of health, yet Osman Páshá attended prayers on Friday, where now for the first time during half a century, that is, since the conquest of Sultan

Suleiman, not only the praise of Ali, but that also of the other three chalifs his predecessors, rung from the pulpits. In the middle of September, the Osman army, which lay encamped at Shenb Ghasan, to the number of thirty-one thousand men, under the command of Cicala, was suddenly attacked by the Persian prince Hamsa with about twenty thousand men, and defeated with such enormous loss as to be estimated at no less than the whole force which the enemy brought into the field. Muhammed Páshá, the governor of Diarbeker, was killed; Murad Páshá, governor of Karaman, was taken prisoner, having fallen with his horse into a well, and being hence called Kajudji, the well-digger,* a significant name, which, twenty-five years after, was bloodily fulfilled in a

Successive defeats of the Osmans.

* This man, at the age of eighty years, was appointed grand vezír, and after the suppression of some rebellions in Syria and Asia Minor, in the year 1607, being determined not to have his nickname for nothing, ordered several prisoners to be put to death by being thrown into wells (see Hammer, p. 401, vol. iv. but especially pp. 413–415), which he ordered to be dug on purpose. After the victory (over Janbulad and Kalenderoghli) Murad seated himself in his tent on a saddle, and ordered wells to be dug in his presence, which he filled up with the corpses of the slain, that he might in this way prove his title to the nickname of the Well-digger. One day, while his diggers of these death-pits were busily employed before his eyes, he espied a spahi making off with a young lad behind him. He ordered the boy into his presence, and asked how he came to be among the rebels. The boy, unembarrassed, made the plain statement, that his father had been compelled by downright hunger, and nothing else, to join the rebels merely for a livelihood. "What was your father's business?" said Murad.

different way. After this great loss the grand-vezír encamped close to Shenb Ghasan, on the fifty-eighth day after breaking up from Erzerûm, with the intention of commencing his retreat, as he had promised the army. The Persian prince Hamsa, a name now formidable to the Turks, made his appearance the third time, with twenty-eight thousand cavalry. The grand-vezír was so weak from illness, that he could scarcely maintain himself in the field to give orders for the battle, in which twenty thousand men fell on the side of the Turks, and soon after which the grand-vezír died. The fifth battle, in which Cicala's son commanded after Osman's death, was the only one which terminated in favour of the sultan, when three thousand Persians were driven into a swamp. An official despatch from Cicala announced at Constantinople

" He used to maintain himself," replied the boy, " by playing on the guitar." " Ay, ay," said Murad, with a fatal smile, " he used to stir up rebels;" at the same time giving the signal to the executioners to despatch the boy, who was delivered over to them. They, however, softened by his tears, asked, " Why are we to kill this innocent boy?" and did not execute the order. Upon notice of this refusal being conveyed to Murad, the janissaries were commanded to put the lad to death. Their reply was, " Are we executioners? and are we to be more cruel than the common hangmen, who have spared the boy's life?" Murad repeated the order for his death, consigning him over to his pages. The pages also dispersed in different directions, and the boy was left alone. Then it was that the grey-beard of ninety-years, inhuman monster! seized the boy with his sinewy hand, bent him with his head downwards at the edge of this bloody pit, and, after strangling him with his own hand, threw him headlong into the well.

the conquest of Tabríz, which, however, was again besieged by the Persians for ten months. But the intrigues carried on by the Osman commanders-in-chief, who went to its relief, with the Turkman princes in the Persian army, effectuated the assassination of Prince Hamsa; and the intestine troubles of Persia with respect to the succession, as well as the threats of war from the Usbegs, gave the Osmans, notwithstanding their repeated defeats, all the advantageous fruits of victory. Two months after the relief of Tabríz by the serdar, Ferhad Páshá, he subdued the Khan of Guherdan, a place lying on the road from Tabríz to Baghdád; defeated five Persian sultans who had collected fifteen thousand men in the neighbourhood of Baghdád; at the crany-way reduced Disful, and some other places of lesser note; and defeated the governors of Loristan and Hamadan,—the latter was taken prisoner; the former made his escape, but afterwards voluntarily surrendered both himself and his territory to the Osmans.

The next year, which was the last but one of the Persian war, Ferhad Páshá, the serdar, and Saafer Páshá, the viceroy of Shirwan, proceeded with their joint forces into the beautiful land of Karabagh, whose name implies black, that is, the deep green garden-land, and occupied its capital, Genje. They raised a wall round it of six thousand yards: after forty days the completion of the work was announced by a discharge of artillery from the newly raised works, to guard which three thousand five hundred men were left in garrison. The

taking of Genje and Karabagh was rendered easy by the absence of the sháh, who lay encamped on the eastern frontier of the Persian kingdom, ready to encounter the Khan of the Usbegs, Abdullah. That prince had taken Herat, after a siege of some few months, and massacred all the Shii inhabitants. In the following year he had sent his son Abdul-mumin Khan, who had not left a single Persian alive in Meshed. In this way, pressed still harder on the eastern boundary by the Tatars than by the Osmans on the western, Sháh Abbas found it necessary to conclude a peace with the latter; and for this purpose sent his nephew, Haider Mirsa, accompanied by four khans and an immense retinue, to Constantinople, where articles of peace were agreed to upon terms highly favourable to Turkey; by which she retained her late conquests in Georgia, including Tabríz, together with the whole territory of Aserbaijan belonging to it.

A.D.1591. The year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, which was that following the peace with Persia, is remarkable as the beginning of a long series of dissensions in the divan, and rebellions in the army. Some serious insurrections Murad lived to witness; but they were so numerous and violent, so obstinate and bloody, under the reigns of his three successors, Muhammed the Third, Ahmed the First, and Osman the Second, that the united reigns of these sultans, comprising a period of thirty years, present us with scarcely any regular detail of military transactions, other than that of suppressing rebellions in almost every

part of the Asiatic side of the empire. Before the close of the year one thousand six hundred and twelve, Sháh Abbas, of Persia, had forced the Osmans to a very inglorious peace, after having conquered from them considerable territories.

Y. of H. 1003. A.D. 1595. Death of Murad.

The death of Murad seems to have been hastened by a superstitious presentiment, that his end was approaching. His confidential armour-bearer, Saatshi Hasan, or Hasan the clock-maker, who had gone from the Seraglio as governor to Diarbeker, upon returning thence a short time before to resume his old post near the person of his master, had a dream in which Sultan Suleiman, the Sheikh Ishtibi, Sultan Murad, and his armour-bearer, were the parties concerned. He gave a description of the dream to his master, who, upon being taken ill with the cramp in his stomach three days after, fancied the dream was the harbinger of death. The sultan ordered him to sacrifice fifty-two sheep—four black, eight speckled, and forty white, as his grandsire Suleiman had pointed out in Hasan's dream. He went to the beautiful pavilion lately built by Sinan Páshá on the sea-coast, which commands a view of the ships as they run into the harbour from the Mediterranean and the Black Seas. He usually allowed his private band to sing and play whatever pieces they pleased; but this time, contrary to his general habit, he ordered a song beginning with a melancholy line. Soon after the commencement of the air, two Egyptian galleys sailed by, and the firing of the salutes shivered the windows of the pavilion to

atoms, throwing them down with a rattling noise. "The salute from the cannons of the whole fleet," said the sultan, "never injured the windows of the pavilion before, and now they are broken to pieces by that of these galleys. I see too plainly from this circumstance, that my life is drawing to an end."

While he spoke, the tears rolled down his cheeks and beard. He died the following night; leaving the character of a weak and superstitious, but not that of a cruel and tyrannical, prince. If we except the murder of his brother, upon his coming to the throne, according to the constitutional maxim laid down by Muhammed, and that of some female slaves, who were drowned as sorceresses upon suspicion of witchcraft of* a peculiar nature, no imputation of cruelty attaches to him. He was never guilty of the crime of putting to death his vezírs and governors, however often he changed them. This he did eleven times in the course of a reign of twenty years; he changed the Mufti also seven times, a capriciousness which was the natural consequence of the women of the seraglio exercising such amazing influence over him. He was equally addicted to mysticism and poetry; and delighted in the society of interpreters of dreams, astrologers, sheikhs, and mystical poets, who were ever in attendance about his person.

By the recent conquest in Georgia the empire had reached its greatest point of extent, and at

* Des Nestelknüpfens.

the time of Murad's death comprised forty governments, and four tributary countries. Of the forty governments, eight were situated in Europe, four in Africa, and twenty-eight in Asia. The European governments were Hungary, Temeswar, Bosnia, Semendra, Romeili, Kaffa (which last was granted by Murad as a fief in consideration of the feudal tenant engaging to supply the sultan's kitchen with the lard which was necessary), Candia and the Archipelago, in which were included the Morea, Lepanto, and even Nicomedia. Those of Africa were Egypt, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli. The Asiatic governments were Anadoli, Karaman, Meroesh, Adnah, Cyprus; Haleb, Ssaida, Damascus, and Tripolis, in Syria; on the Black Sea, Sivás or Rûm, Trabezun, Childir; on the side of Persia, Gurjistan, that is, Georgia, Daghistan, that is, Caucasus, Shirwan, Kars, Van, Erzerûm, Shehrsor, or Kurdistan Proper; in Mesopotamia, Bassra, Baghdád, Rakka, Mossul, Diarbeker; in Arabia, Jidda, Ssanaa, Sebid, and Mecca, the residence of the Sherif. The four tributary dependencies were Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ragusa. In this widely extended dominion the Osman empire comprised in Europe, all Greece, Illyricum, Mæsia, Macedonia, Pannonia, Thrace, Dacia — the kingdoms of Pyrrhus, Perseus, Rhescuporis, and Decebalus, of the Triballi, and the Bulgarians; in Africa, the kingdom of the Ptolemies, and the territorial possessions of Carthage, including also the intervening kingdom of Numidia; in Asia, the kingdoms of the renowned monarchs Mithradates, Antiochus, Atta-

Extent of the Osman Empire.

lus, Prusias, Herodes, Tigranes, those of the less famous kings of Cappadocia, Cilicia, Comagene, of the Iberians, and the Scythians, a portion of the Parthian empire, besides the Grecian colonies which had been established under a republican form of government, and the commercial towns dependent on Carthage; twenty kingdoms parcelled out into forty viceroyalties, and extending from the roaring floods of the Syrtes to the range of Caucasus northward, and to the countries washed by the romantic * Hydaspes.

* The Choaspes or Eulæus (Ulai of Ezekiel), the modern Kerah-su, (See Sir H. J. Bridges's Map) must be the Hydaspes here intended, because the modern Turkish empire never reached to the Indian river of that name. Why Horace applies the epithet "fabulosus" to the Indian Hydaspes (the Behat or Jylum) is clear; it is less apparent what the historian here means by the quotation, which he gives from Horace, as applicable to the river of Susiana (Khusistan), and whence he adopts his own epithet "der fabelhafte."

CHAPTER XII.

MURAD THE FOURTH.

YEAR OF HIJRAH 1032. A.D. 1623.

Murad ascends the Throne—Abasa's Rebellion in Asia Minor—Tajjar Páshá marches against him—Singular Oath of Spáhis and Segbane—Grand Vezír takes the field against Abasa—Battle of Kaissarije—Abasa's Flight—He is left undisturbed as Governor of Erzerûm—Cossacs in the Bosphorus—Arbitration of the Porte between Algiers and Tunis—New Grand Vezír marches to besiege Baghdád—Three Battles with the Persians—The Persian Band of Fifteen Hundred—Persian Embassy—Hafiz raises the Siege—The Altun-su (Caprus) forded—Insurrection of Janissaries in Grand Vezír's Camp at Haleb—He is deposed—Abasa renews his Rebellion and murders several of the Janissaries—He is ineffectually besieged in Erzerûm by Chalil the Grand Vezír, who is accordingly recalled—Abasa besieges Hasan-kalaa—Chosrew besieges Erzerûm, and induces Abasa to surrender on favourable Terms—Unfolding of Murad's Character.

THE reign of Murad the Fourth commenced amidst prospects which augured ill to the peace and even to the security of the kingdom. Mutinous troops, A.D.1623. who had dethroned their former master to exalt Murad in his room, had not yet sheathed their sabres; added to this, a treasury utterly exhausted, and the pillars of fire and smoke, as it were, in the rebellion of Abasa, and the loss of Baghdád—

Baghdád, the house of peace, the capital of Irak, the mightiest bulwark on the eastern side of the empire. Of this the Persians had made themselves masters, through the instrumentality of the rebel Bekir; and the formidable insurrection of Abasa in Asia Minor, together with the disturbances in the Crimea, may be presumed to be the reasons why no effectual measures were sooner taken to regain it.

Abasa's rebellion.

Abasa, the governor of Erzerûm, and afterwards of Sívás, publicly avowed the design of revenging the death of Sultan Osman, who had been murdered by the janissaries for his project of suppressing them. This project had been set on foot by Abasa, and the failure of it, which led to the sultan's murder by the rebel troops, now occasioned a formidable insurrection under the conduct of Abasa, whose hatred to the regicides, if not gratified to its full extent, was unsparingly manifested at every opportunity. At Sívás, the janissaries had quietly awaited the arrival of the new páshá, because as they had taken no share in the death of Osman at Constantinople, they stood on their innocence, which they were willing to establish by being confronted, if necessary, with any who should accuse them of participating in it. Notwithstanding this, Abasa's representative, Jaafer, ordered two of their officers to be put to death in the most cruel way. Holes were bored through their shoulders, and wax tapers inserted in them, which were then set on fire. In this way, tied upon camels, these poor wretches were paraded through the streets of the

city, while a herald made proclamation, "Such is the reward of regicides and traitors!" After which all the janissaries, without exception, were mercilessly butchered; the spáhís and other cavalry only being spared. The savage and barbarous tyranny exhibited by the segban (foot-guards), and levend (volunteers), against the janissaries, was unbounded; it was the unrestrained rage of the cavalry against the infantry,—of the irregular troops against the regulars,—of the Prætorian cohorts, in a manner, against the legions,—of the collective body of the soldiery *en masse* against the regular rank and file. While Abasa appointed Seidkhan as governor at Sívás, a man who would fully enter into the spirit of his orders, he himself advanced against the strong fortress of Karahissar, accompanied by Kulaun, the beglerbeg of Meroesh, who had indeed been commanded to make head against him; but, instead of doing so, had joined his forces with those of Abasa, and made common cause with him. The castle of Karahissar lies on the road between Tokát and Erzerûm, and, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, is called Shabin Karahissar, or the Black Castle of Alum, from the alum mines in the neighbourhood. Here Murtesa Páshá was advantageously posted with a garrison of ten thousand men, having erected a new castle on a perpendicular rock opposite the citadel. A battle ensued, in which Murtesa, after displaying great bravery, was beaten, and compelled to retire back into the castle; so that he was content to capitulate on favourable terms, and repaired

to Abasa's camp; though the bolder portion of the spáhis, not approving of the surrender, withdrew into the castle, whence they considerably annoyed Abasa's army by their nightly assaults. Meantime, Muhammed Páshá, surnamed Tajjar, or the Flying, from the rapidity of his movements, had reached Sívás, and succeeded by his presence and address in raising the inhabitants against Abasa. Abasa having divided his regular cavalry into six troops, in imitation of the six troops of the Porte, set out from Karahissar, accompanied by Kulaun and Murtesa Páshá, in the direction of Tokat, intending to march upon Constantinople. In the plain of Karowa (snow-valley) a halt of several days served at once to recruit the spirits of his soldiers, who amused themselves by horse-races and throwing the jirid, as well as daily to increase the number of his adherents. It happened one day that the spáhís made such a show of skill at the game of the jirid, as to inspire the segbane, who were completely overmatched, with a spirit of jealousy, which so interrupted the harmony of the two parties, that they were on the point of taking up arms against each other. Conscious that his whole strength depended upon their union, Abasa was happy in effectuating a reconciliation, which he prevailed upon both sides to ratify by an oath;—a circumstance that deserves notice from the singularity of the solemnity, for it reminds us at once of the eastern symbol of hospitality, bread and salt, and of the Samnite yoke also. A wooden hoop was set up between the spáhís and segbane, from which

Tajjar Páshá marches against Abasa.

Singular oath of the spáhis and segbane.

were suspended a copy of the Koran and a sabre, with bread and salt on each side. The officers of the two parties approached the wooden hoop, and swore to maintain a lasting and sincere union. The form of the oath was to this effect: "Whoever shall at any time violate the compact, may they become the victims of the sabre, and may their bread and salt be turned into poison." Whereupon all the spáhís by way of giving satisfaction to the segbane, went under the wooden hoop. Kulaun Páshá and Begtash, the principal officers of the spáhís, set the example of this voluntary humiliation, in order to secure a full reconciliation to their men on the part of the segbane.

When Abasa reached Tokát, he learned that Tajjar Páshá was in possession of Sívás. This induced him to change his line of march. Tajjar, who was a shrewd, cunning man, sent him a very friendly message, accompanied by presents, and conveying the assurance that he (Tajjar) was, indeed, apparently the humble servant of the porte, but secretly abetted the projects of Abasa. The gates of Sívás were thrown open, though not without a military guard; the troops of Abasa had free ingress and egress to and fro for buying and selling; while Tajjar Páshá was night and day racking his invention to crush Abasa. He began with inviting Kulaun Pashá to his table. He represented to him that he was the great man; that without his powerful help Abasa was incapable of any enterprise, and that it was quite impossible for so wicked a project to be eventually successful. These argu-

ments of Tajjar had due weight with Kulaun. He readily fell into Tajjar's views against Abasa; and it was agreed upon between them, that Abasa should be taken by surprise in the night. A few days after this interview, Tajjar took an opportunity of giving an entertainment to Abasa and Murtesa Páshá, without inviting Kulaun. In the course of conversation, Tajjar remarked to them, that Kulaun, from having been defterdar and vezír in the campaign of Chocim plumed himself so much upon his vezírship, that he held them in utter contempt; and, in short, had resolved to embrace the first opportunity of ridding himself of them by surprising them in the night. He next renewed his invitation to Kulaun, and concerted the plan of attack with him, calculating at all events, that if his project succeeded, either Abasa himself, or Kulaun, who was the more artful and intriguing of the two, would be disposed of. Abasa was a brave soldier, but a plain straightforward man. Schemer he was none; but suffered himself to be the tool of the Sheikh of Kaissarijelu, who flattered his vanity and wrought upon his ambition by prognosticating that the continuance and increase of the rebellion would pave the way for him to the grand vezírship. The insinuations and cautions suggested by Tajjar had the effect of making Abasa regard Kulaun henceforward only as an enemy in disguise; and when, further, a rumour prevailed among the segbane, that they were menaced with a surprise in the night, they were anxious to storm the city without delay. Tajjar Páshá mounted his

horse, and rode, accompanied by a single attendant, outside of the city, straight through the middle of the sebane, who made room for him to pass, in order to repair to Abasa; who, however, at the motion of Gursbeg, the colonel of the segbane, seized and detained him prisoner. Tajjar upon this represented to Abasa how dishonourable such treatment was, when he had come to his camp as a friend, unarmed, and in full confidence of being regarded in that light, not only in a man holding the dignity of vezír, but in every man of honour; and that after such a transaction, neither vezírs nor amyrs could place any dependence on his word. Abasa foolishly suffered himself to be deceived by these arguments, and gave the páshá leave to return to the city. Kulaun, who after his plan for surprising Abasa in the night had miscarried, had so much stronger grounds of fear and suspicion, now removed his tent from Abasa's camp, under pretence of changing his quarters. As he did this without any molestation on Abasa's part, he was not slow in accepting an invitation given him by Abasa to celebrate the last night of the Ramasan with him and the beginning of the Bairam. Abasa gave him the most hospitable and friendly reception, but afterwards contrived that he should be taken by surprise in his tent during the night, and put to death.

May 1624. Grand vezír takes the field.

The grand vezír, Cherkes Muhammed, now took the field against the rebel páshá, whose lieutenant-general, Chapur Bekir, strongly posted at Nikde, had not far from Konia, in the plain

called the White Meadow, fallen upon the troops of Jaafer Páshá (the pointed-beard), taken him himself prisoner, and put him to death by Abasa's order. This man had occupied Konia as a commander of Segbane; but the troops under his orders were so irritated by the rigour of his kiaja (lieutenant), Mustafa, that they had mustered in Sherifeddin's Mosque, pillaged the kiaja's house, and stabbed him. Jaafer Páshá too late saw his error in putting himself at the head of the Segbane. Chapur Bekir decapitated him, and caused his head to be exposed on the battlements of Nikde. The grand vezír, Serdar, encamped one and twenty days in the plain of Konia, whence he communicated by letter with Abasa, in the hope of inducing him to come to terms of accommodation. The latter, however, by the persuasion of the Sheikh of Kaissarije, preferred fighting to negociation. Cherkes Muhammed, therefore, marched forward by way of Eregli beyond Nikde, where Chapur Bekir had shut himself up with his troops, to the plain of Kaissarije; and in the middle of August took up a position on the bridge of the Karassu, which runs through the plain on the western side of the town. A report, that the grand vezír had come to an understanding with Abasa, and that too only for the purpose of breaking the janissaries, caused a rebellion in the camp; but the soldiers were soon appeased by an explanation, which pointed out their mistake. The truth was, that the grand vezír had been carrying on an intrigue with the tribes of Turkmans and their respective

princes, sparing neither threats nor promises to induce them on the day of the battle to desert from Abasa, and come over to his side. It was late in the afternoon when the troops were so eager to engage, that the grand vezír heard them loudly calling out to him to march immediately, and shewing evident marks of their displeasure by the whizzing of the spears round his tent, and the clanging of their swords. His resolution calmed the uproar, the mutineers were awed to submission, and the battle was fixed for the following morning. At day-break the contest begun. The army of the grand vezír was drawn up according to the army regulations. In the centre were posted the janissaries behind the cannons, and in front of them the light troops; the left wing was covered by the range of mountains, the right stretched along in the plain of Kaissarije. The first onset of the rebels was made with the greatest fury, and the janissaries were already on the point of being repulsed by them, when their aga, Chosrew, brandishing his battle-axe, loudly called to them to redouble their efforts, and dashed forward on horseback into the thickest of the rebels. This spirited conduct induced the janissaries to maintain their ground, who poured in their musket-balls so effectually, that the segbane on foot, and the levends on horseback, began to scour away in separate directions. While Abasa was doing all that a general could do to rally his men, he perceived the Turkmans, upon whose effectual help he had calculated for securing the victory, drawing off along

Battle of Kaissarije.

the mountain-range. He sent his chaush-bashi to inquire the meaning of this retrograde movement. They coolly replied, "That they had no interest in his success, and that he must finish the engagement with the help of those who would be benefited by his victory." While the chaush-bashi was hastening back to Abasa with this unwelcome message, Murtesa and Tajjar Páshá executed the scheme which they had agreed upon. As soon as Tajjar Páshá displayed his banners, and moved forward to join the grand vezír, Murtesa followed his example; and thus, both having gone over to the imperial army with all their troops, they suddenly wheeled round to the left, and, with their horses at full speed, poured down upon the rebels, on whose side they had but just now been fighting. Notwithstanding this defection, Abasa abated nothing of his heroic exertions; but when his favourite horse had broken loose, and was galloping without his rider between the ranks, his men concluded that Abasa himself was killed; and this mistake decided the issue of the battle. No sooner did he see all was lost, than he mounted his swiftest steed, which he had reserved in readiness in case of an emergency of this sort, leaving every thing behind but his treasure-chests, and turned his back upon his army, which was still fighting. The Levends fled after him, as far as their horses would carry them; the segbane fell into the hands of the janissaries, who now amply retaliated upon them. All who were taken prisoners were beheaded, and the heads were piled up in heaps, in presence of

Abasa's flight.

the grand vezír. On the evening after the battle, Cherkes Muhammed had sent off the Viceroys of Anadoli and Romeili with some others in the direction of Nikde, to seize Abasa's harem and treasures, which were lodged there. Without allowing themselves time to halt, they reached the neighbourhood of Nikde in forty-eight hours. Here they fell in during the night with a horde of Turkmans, from whom they learned that Chapur had gone off with Abasa's wives, children, and treasures towards Sívás, whither Elias Páshá instantly commenced a pursuit after him, accompanied by the most capable of his men; and, in eight and forty hours more, succeeded in overtaking Chapur. Though only three hundred men had been able to keep up with the páshá, the rebels, imagining from the colours that the grand vezír was at their heels in person, were easily defeated and taken. The colonels of fusileers and musqueteers, belonging to the páshá, assisted by four janissaries, performed the office of the executioner: three hundred heads were cut off, and afterwards stuffed with straw, in which condition they were sent to the grand vezír, together with Abasa's wives and children. These were ordered to be kept in safe custody at Sívás; the government of which place Cherkes had conferred on Tajjar Páshá, conniving at his previous understanding with Abasa, which he deemed compulsory. Abasa had fled to Erzerûm, and the grand vezír was gone forward to Terjan; but the advanced season of the year rendering the siege of Erzerûm impracticable, and Abasa having entered into a

negociation through the medium of the young Abasa, his relative, a compromise took place, in virtue of which Abasa was confirmed in his government of Erzerûm, with the condition, however, that he should admit ten officers of the janissaries and their regiment to garrison the fort, and refrain from doing them the slightest injury. These terms were accepted by Abasa, and the grand vezír went into winter-quarters at Tokat.

1624. Cossacs in the Bosphorus.

But before the suppression of this rebellion, the Porte experienced all the mortification of defeat in the Crimea, and the cossacs had invaded the Bosphorus. On the twenty-first of July, a day more than once remarkable in Osman history for lucky and unlucky events, the cossacs shewed themselves for the first time in the Bosphorus, in the face of Constantinople. A hundred and fifty quick-sailing vessels, carrying ten oars on each side, with every oar worked by two rowers, and each boat manned by crews consisting of fifty soldiers armed with muskets and sabres, made a descent upon the coast. These boats were built with forecastles and sterns of equal dimensions, and with moveable rudders, which could be easily shifted fore and aft, so as to admit of steerage backwards or forwards without tacking. In their whole construction they exactly resembled those used by the barbarians in their descent upon the coast of the Euxine, in the neighbourhood of Trebisond, during the reign of the Roman emperor Vitellius. This is the first piratical excursion of those freebooters in the Euxine recorded in history. Five hundred

years after, in the reign of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius, Vitalianus having subdued Thrace and Mæsia with an enormous army of Huns and Bulgarians, penetrated as far as the gulf of Sosthenius (Stenia), where he dictated terms of peace. In the course of two centuries more, during the reign of Philippicus Bardanes, the Bulgarians again made an inroad upon Stenia, and carried their depredations even to the golden gate. A century later the Russians appeared for the first time in two hundred boats, under the command of Ascold and Dir, wasting and plundering the country before the very gates of Constantinople. In the following century Stenia was once more subjected to the ravages of the Bulgarians in the reign of the emperor Romanus, and twenty years afterwards suffered severely from the Russians commanded by their leader Igor. Imitating the example of the Scythians, Bulgarians, and Russians, the cossacs now made their first irruption into the Bosphorus, desolating the European side of the coast, and burning Bujukdere, Jenikö, and Stenia. A fleet consisting of from four to five hundred vessels, including all the small craft, immediately put to sea from the harbour of Constantinople, to prevent their further advance. The large iron chain, which had been laid up in reserve ever since the conquest of Constantinople, when it formed a bar for the harbour, was now conveyed to the castles of the Bosphorus to block out the ships of the enemy; while ten thousand soldiers were stationed as fencibles all along the coasts of the Bosphorus, to

protect them from further molestation, and to repulse the enemy in any attempt to land. The cossac fleet rode quietly at anchor all day, midway up the channel, extended in the form of a half-moon, and at sun-set retired laden with booty to the Black Sea. A few days after, the cossacs returned in still greater number, but did not advance further than the mouth of the Bosphorus. Here, having set fire to the watch-tower, near which Igor's fleet had lain at anchor seven hundred years before, they were contented to return back to their own coasts laden with plunder, and the knowledge of having alarmed the Osman empire in its capital.

Amidst these disgraces the Porte was obliged to console itself with the dismissal of a suit, which was referred to its arbitration by the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis, respecting the possession of the fortress of Arko, which, as lying between the two kingdoms, was an object of dispute. Ambassadors on this behalf had been sent by both powers to Constantinople. Those from Tunis were the mufti and aga of the janissaries; those from the Algerines were the deposed aga of the janissaries, two bulukbashi, two jajabashi, two odabashi. The trial was conducted in the presence of the mufti and the kadiaskers, amidst a solemn and numerous assemblage of the highest functionaries of the law, and judgment was given to the following effect:—That, whereas Arko was situated at the distance of from fifty to sixty stations from Algiers, and ten stations from Tunis, to whichever

Arbitration between Algiers and Tunis.

of the two powers the dues and customs had hitherto been paid, in future a commissary should proceed annually to Algiers and Tunis in the capacity of collector and receiver of the customs, for which service yearly rent of twenty thousand piastres should be paid to the Porte; and that this rent-charge should be made over to the commissary annually going to Mecca and Medina with the surre, that is, the sultan's present for distribution among the poor of the two holy cities.

Preparations continued for reinforcing the grand vezír at Tokat. Twenty thousand janissaries were despatched to Erzerûm to be quartered there in garrison; the Viceroy of Diarbeker was ordered to have in readiness forty thousand leathern bags made of goat-skins, twelve pieces of ordnance with their furniture all complete, four hundred leathern floats, a hundred and twenty thousand kilos of barley, forty thousand kilos of wheat and biscuit; and the Woiwode of Azaz and Klis was commissioned to purchase two hundred and twenty-five teams of camels, as well as fifty thousand sheep. Just at the expiration of the year, the grand vezír died at Tokat after a tedious illness, and the viceroy of Diarbeker, Hafiz Páshá, was appointed his successor.

In the beginning of May, the new grand vezír pitched his tent upon the plain of Cholek, near Diarbeker, while the Beglerbeg of Karaman, who had wintered in the district of Hossn-keif, marched against a division of the Persian army which was stationed at the river of Altun-köprisi (golden

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bridge) in the neighbourhood of Kerkuk in Kurdistan. Ten thousand Persians were defeated by four thousand Osmanlis, being first driven back to Kerkuk, and afterwards dislodged from thence; some hundred heads were sent to Diarbeker, and Bostan Páshá occupied Kerkuk. The Grand Vezír Hafiz, who had been ordered in the spring to take measures for the recovery of Baghdád, still continued, though it was now autumn, in the encampment which he had taken up in the plain of Cholek, before Diarbeker.

Upon receiving intelligence, that a great part of the Persian garrison had gone on a pilgrimage from Baghdád to Imam Ali, on the Euphrates, the Beglerbeg of Anadoli, Elias Páshá Abdallah, was despatched with fifteen thousand men to besiege Baghdád on the side of Helle and Imam Musa, and consequently to cut off the return of the pilgrims. Hafiz Páshá held a council of war, and resolved immediately to march against Baghdád without any further artillery than four light cannons. Hafiz was a scientific literary character, an admirable writer in prose and verse, but a man of defective judgment, and too inconsiderate for conducting a business like the present. On the march to Medain, he was the declaimer of his own verses, in the hope that they would inspire confidence and courage into the troops. Just above old Mosul he crossed the Tigris; at Mosul he distributed provisions, and crossed the great and little Zab (Zabatus and Caprus) to Kerkuk. Here a council of war was held, to determine whether it was ad-

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visable to besiege Baghdád without ammunition; for Murad Páshá, instead of frightening the Persians away from Baghdád, had frightened them into it again, so that Ssaruchan and Mir Fettah had lately thrown themselves into it, with a force amounting to between seven and eight thousand men. Some members of the council raised an objection to the commencement of the siege at this period, alleging that the day Kasim, on which the troops are generally dismissed to their winter cantonments, was already past; but this objection was overruled by the consideration, that the climate of Baghdád could not be estimated by that of other countries, because it would be impossible to carry on the siege in summer on account of the excessive heat, which prevails there at that season. A Persian envoy was the bearer of a letter from Ahmed Khan, in which he requested the Osmans would not proceed to ravage their own land till the arrival of the sháh, who was expected within twenty days. The grand vezír sent the Viceroy of Mosul to his government to collect provisions. He sent back Bostan Páshá to garrison Kerkuk, and moved forward towards Baghdád, where he encamped in the neighbourhood of the sepulchre of the great Imam Ebu Hanife. The want of artillery was now sensibly felt; and the army ridiculed the grand vezír, who had said, in a council of war at Diarbeker, that the keys of Baghdád were in his pocket. Three cannons, being all which they could muster, were planted behind gabions; and, on the twelfth day after their arrival the troops occupied a strong position behind the trenches;

Hafiz besieges Baghdád.

the viceroy of Haleb, Mustafa Páshá, was stationed on the edge of the water; the aga of the janissaries, Vezír Chosrew Páshá, in front of the Gate of Darkness, which led to the Persian works. The viceroy of Romeili, Gurji Muhammed Páshá, the viceroy of Anadoli, Elias Páshá, the viceroy of Meroesh, Noghai Páshá, the viceroy of Sívás, Tajjar Páshá, and the viceroy of Karaman, Cherkes Hasan Páshá, occupied the trenches with the segbane. Hafiz Páshá slept in the trenches, encouraging the sappers in their work by expressions of kindness, as well as occasional presents. The six troops of the spáhís kept guard in the camp during the night, agreeably to the articles of war. In two months they had dug fifty-two mines; but these were all detected by the Persians, and laid under water. Day and night the sháh's bravest troops, the Mazinderians, mounted guard upon the walls; torches were kept burning every night from the water side as far as the white gate, and the whole circumference resounded, as the cry "God is one!" passed from one tower to another. The trifling damage done to the walls by the three cannons was immediately repaired by gabions of wickerwork, made of the branches of palm-trees plaited together and filled up with earth. The palms which the army had felled and dragged to the trench, in order to fill it up, were again most of them carried off by the Arabs in the night; the Persian cavalry stole in every night upon those parts which were unoccupied by the enemy from the great imam, as far as the Gate of Darkness.

On the seventy-second day of the siege, an outcry was raised for a general assault; a breach having been effected by a mine, which blew up the walls to the distance of five or six yards. With loud shouts of "Allah, Allah!" the Osmans pressed forward towards the city; but the Persians, who had entrenched themselves behind the walls with gabions and fosses, checked any further advance. The assailants turned round again, and the aga of the janissaries even tried to urge them forward with strokes of his sabre; but his efforts were fruitless, and the breach in the wall was filled up the next day. Intelligence now arrived that the sháh was approaching in person at the head of a large army; that Seinelkhan, whom he had sent forward in advance with ten thousand cavalry, had passed the Diala, and captured three thousand Osman foragers at Shehrban. Upon this the grand vezír held a council of war before Baghdád. The Beglerbeg of Fiilek was of opinion that their only alternative was, either to attack the sháh, or to retreat. He advised the latter measure, and offered to justify before the sultan the advice which he gave, to this effect, in the military register. But the janissaries absolutely would not hear of retreat: "We will die to the very last man, nor leave the trenches till Baghdád be taken." The spáhís said, "If you watch in the trenches, we ought not to be tired of keeping the open field." It was resolved, therefore, to continue the siege; and, with this view, so strongly was the camp fortified behind with trenches and walls, and towers and gates, that

Failure of attempt to storm Baghdád.

on this side it resembled a fortified town. They wrote to Constantinople for cannon; and preparation was made for procuring from Bassra one which would carry a ball of a hundred pounds weight. Tajjar Muhammed Páshá, who had been despatched with two divisions of spáhís to cope with Seinel-khan, fell back again in retreat, because the Persians had waylaid a hundred Tatars, whom he had sent on in advance, and had cut them all to pieces except ten. A foolish report had well nigh set the whole camp in an uproar, and endangered the head of the Defterdar Osman Páshá, a native Persian. Twelve boats laden with ammunition, and twenty-four with biscuit, had come from Diarbeker, which were unloaded near the castle of the great imam. The next day the camp was alarmed by the report that the defterdar had given up the biscuit to the Persians. The defterdar was brought before the army-judge, and afterwards before the grand vezír; the report was discovered to arise from the person employed to convey the provisions, whom some of the grand vezír's servants had brought to the castle of the great imam. The foolish simpleton was beheaded, and the defterdar was also removed from office, because his character had suffered, and his place was bestowed upon Osman Effendi, of Tokat.

The Sháh of Persia encamped on the banks of the Diala.

In the night, upon the news coming that the sháh was encamped on the bank of the Diala, the Persians all sprung up suddenly and mounted the walls of Baghdád, like a crop of armed men, thickly huddled together, as if they intended to frighten the enemy by their numbers. Every cannon and

musket in the place was fired, and the jubilee lasted three days and nights. The grand vezír proposed in a council of war that he should himself go and attack Seinelkhan, who was encamped on this side of the Diala (Delas), and leave the aga of the janissaries behind him as kaimakam. This proposal was not approved. Murad Páshá, and the Beglerbeg of Anadoli, Elias Páshá, were deputed to act for him, and were furnished for that purpose with seven cannons and a thousand Arabs. Murad Páshá was repulsed back into the camp with loss, whither the Persians pursued him to the very trenches. Hafiz Páshá went in person to the trenches, and passed the night there on guard; the commandant of Terjil, Telli Ibrahim, the Kiaja, the Chaush of Diarbeker, were among the killed. In one of the succeeding nights, the Persian, Berchordar, one of the sháh's principal engineers, was brought in prisoner by Kuchuk Ahmed Aga. The sháh had sent him to Baghdád with a thousand ducats, and with provisions; but, in the night, having mistaken the light of the Osman camp for that of the city, and missed his way, he did not discover his error till his horse had conveyed him to the enemy's lines, where he was taken prisoner with all his attendants. As the want of money was very severely felt, a mint was established in the castle of the great imam, for striking off the silver coin of Baghdád. Things were in this state, and the siege had now lasted six months.

One morning, when the grand vezír was amusing himself at the game of jirid with his at-

tendants, near the castle of the great imam, a cloud of dust was seen to rise from the side of the bank of the Diala. It was from the advance of the sháh's troops, who were now coming up within sight. An envoy came on foot with a letter of the sháh for the grand vezír. He read it, and ordered them to continue the game of the jirid. Some persons murmured, and asked, "Whether this was the moment for the game of jirid when the enemy's troops were in sight?" The grand vezír said angrily, "A beglerbeg will give the envoy an answer; I do not allow myself to be disturbed in my amusements;" and he continued throwing the jirid a very long time into the camp, in order to shew the sháh's envoy his peculiar dexterity in the use of weapons, and his unruffled composure. When he came to his tent, the envoy required the answer. "I will return one after the battle," said Hafiz; and immediately the band struck up for the troops to muster. The train of the páshá had taken post close to Abdallah; the viceroys of Karaman, Cherkes Hasan and Murad Páshá, to the right of the grand vezír; on his left the Viceroy of Sívas, and the Salihdars; but the troops of Romeili and Haleb occupied also the right wing; those of Anadoli and the spáhís the left, close to one another (though this was not according to the regularly appointed military arrangement) because the troops happened to have taken their posts so; the tents were distant, and every moment was precious. This first battle with the sháh was shared only by the vans of the respective armies, and

First battle with the Persians.

ended with a few prisoners and some killed on both sides. At this time transports of a peculiar construction came from Bassra, built with raised wooden sides and port-holes, so as to secure the rowers behind the wall of boards; large cannon, too, arrived from Bassra and Constantinople. As the enemy occupied the banks of the Diala, and were daily carrying off horses which straggled from the camp, Hafiz sent the Albanian, Omer Páshá, with a detachment to guard the country round Takrit. He was, however, surprised by the Persians, lost all his men, and took the road to Mosul, owing his personal safety entirely to the swiftness of his horse, and being the only man that escaped. Nine teams of camels, which were bringing provision from the farm-house of the grand vezír, were captured, and the magazines of Feluje were destroyed by the enemy. A second messenger came from the sháh with the intimation that, as he had wrested Baghdád from the hands of a rebel,* he was willing to beg it of the sultan for his son, to relieve the grand vezír from the fatigue of fighting. Hafiz answered, that he was the absolute provost-marshal of the padisháh; and that it depended on him to give a decisive answer, that Baghdád could not be given up; that the order of the padisháh was express, that when the shah should come as a pilgrim to the grave of Ali (on the Euphrates) he was to visit the grave of Sheikh Ssaffi (at Erdebil).

* Bekir had in 1623 been appointed Páshá of Baghdád, in order to conciliate him; but traitorously made terms with the Persians, into whose hands he surrendered the place.

Second battle with the Persians.

The second battle with the sháh's army, which was, however, only very partial, took place at the bird castle (Kushlarkalaasi), into which the Persians were anxious to throw provisions. After a skirmish, in which the Beglerbegs of Anadoli and Romeili were engaged, the armies were drawn up opposite each other the whole day, but in the evening retired to their tents. The Beg of Boli was killed the next day by a spent cannon ball, as he was withdrawing in the company of the grand vezír from the sepulchre of the great imam. Murad Páshá, who had formed the foolish project of burning the gates of Baghdád with naphtha, with the expectation of taking the city in that way, actually made a small excavation under the walls close to the gate of darkness, and introduced some combustibles; but the blazing naphtha answered only the purpose of setting in a clearer light the silly weakness of the contriver. Some days after, a janissary brought in a carrier-pigeon which he had caught, the bearer of an express to Mir Fettah, the Persian commandant of Baghdád, informing him of an immediate supply of the requisite provisions, of which there was great scarcity in both armies; but the distress within the fort was greater than that in the Turkish camp. The besiegers, indeed, had consumed all the cabbages of the palm-trees in the neighbourhood, so that the trees in the gardens of Baghdád were left as bare as possible, and looked like the masts of vessels without sails. Some of the transports sent with articles of food were taken by the enemy. The third battle with

the sháh, which was fought at the trench of the camp, was rendered remarkable by a band of one thousand five hundred Persians, who devoted themselves to death for their sovereign. These had sworn in the presence of the sháh, who encouraged and attested their oath with the glass in his hand, either to defeat the Osmans, or not to return alive. They had stained their right arms as high as the elbows of a red colour, with henna, as marks of devotedness,—to shew that they would drench their arms so far in the blood of the enemy; and, at the same time, that they might be distinguished by this mark, in order to their being immediately put to death if they were seen alive after the battle. The Persians made the attack on three sides, in the hope of planting themselves between the water and the trench. The janissaries poured in their fire in a kneeling posture; the spáhís fired with their long barrels at intervals like flashes of lightning; horses were falling in numbers round in all directions between the two armies, without their riders, when all at once the sháh's tent burst open, in which he had been before standing to witness, with the glass in his hand, the devotion of his men. He gradually retreated with his death-devoted band. In spite of the warning of Hafiz Páshá, that this was only a feint of the Persians, Murad Páshá carelessly rode forward with his squadron. The returning tide of the devoted fifteen hundred overpowered his troops; rolling on them like the waves of a stormy sea in a dark night. They had in their centre a peculiar kind of hand-barrow,

Third battle with the Persians.

upon which they removed those who fell, and carried them back to the camp, as martyrs. The spáhís wavered. The salihdars, with their yellow standards, made a brave resistance, but were forced back to the very trenches. Rum Muhammed aga, who had before taunted the janissaries as pusillanimous cowards, now himself sought security in their lines close to the entrenchments of the camp. The janissaries were inclined to cut him to pieces, but contented themselves with cutting off his feet, the unworthy members which had helped him to run away. Now the janissaries themselves gave way; but they were rallied, so far as to maintain their ground, by the personal courage of the grand vezír and the exclamations of Aga Chosrew; "Comrades," he called out, with the halberd in his hand, "for what day have you reserved your valour, if not for this?" The Beglerbeg of Anadoli, Elias, again rallied his corps, and made a violent onset upon the devoted Persian band, all of whom perished to a man. The Osman army was saved from defeat; and the combatants retired in the afternoon to their respective camps, after a severe loss on both sides.

Persian embassy.

A few weeks after this battle an envoy came from the sháh, to request some one might be sent to negociate. This was done; and the messenger returned from the Persian camp with an ambassador, whose demands, however, when formally canvassed in the divan, at four successive audiences given to the ambassador, were rejected as inadmissible. A circumstance took place during the

negociations, which is curious as developing the superstitious ideas of both nations. After the holding of the last divan, where the servants were arranging the carpets and cushions, they found some little triangular pieces of silk-paper folded up, upon every one of which was written the letter Sch (ش). This was looked upon as an evident piece of witchcraft, by which the ambassador had intended to secure to himself a successful result of the negociations. The letter ش is one of the letters which are not admitted into the first Sura of the Koran; and upon the supernatural virtue and power of which letter the Persian Behaeddin Aamili has written a particular treatise. As these letters have been banished from the first Sura, with which conjurers and exorcists are kept off, it was clear to the profound wisdom of the divan, that the shâh had given to his ambassador certain talismanic characters, together with his instructions; and the little triangular billets of the devil were committed to the flames.

The day after the reception of the Persian ambassador the janissaries rebelled; and the unexpected blowing-up of a powder-magazine, which was intended to spring a formidable mine, but which, from this circumstance, totally failed, was the signal for universal tumult and disorder. The provisions were plundered, the heavy baggage burnt, the cannons dragged out of the camp to the castle of the great imam; and the army, in the greatest confusion and disorder, in rapid flight, rather than what could be termed a retreat from

Hafiz raises the siege of Baghdád, and retreats.

Baghdád, took the road to Mossul. All the articles which were not moveable, for want of beasts of burden, were burnt or thrown into the Tigris, and the great cannon broken to pieces; the largest and most beautiful, which had belonged to Sultan Suleiman, was buried, but was afterwards betrayed to the sháh, dug up, and conveyed as a trophy to Isfahan. The Persians allowed the enemy to retire undisturbed, till they came to Jarli, the third halting station for the night. The grand vezír, who had ordered Murad Páshá to take the command of the rear, finding that the páshá continued his march forward without attending to the order, now saw himself compelled to fight. A battle ensued behind a trench; the grand vezír brought seven cannon, which yet remained to him, to bear on the Persians, who had pursued without their heavy artillery, and repulsed them with some killed, besides taking a few prisoners. On the evening of the day following the battle he beheaded Murad Páshá for disobedience of orders. At Kisilkhan the troops plundered some boats laden with provisions; famine and confusion had reached their height. The okka of biscuit cost twelve piastres; a bushel of barley was not to be found for one hundred ducats: such horses as remained were killed for food; many of the soldiers subsisted entirely on acorns, and many, for eight days, on water only. The river of Altun-su (golden water) was forded on foot; and at the Zab the famine was relieved by some flour, meat, and money; the latter of which admitted of arrears of pay being

Altun-su, or little Zab (Caprus), forded, June 1627.

made up. At Diarbeker the grand vezír disbanded the army, and sent to the sultan, by means of the eunuch Ali Aga, an account of the siege of Baghdád being raised, after it had lasted nine months. Murad, upon receiving information from the mouth of the messenger of the extraordinary difficulties and labour attending the siege, sent him back with a letter written in his own hand, in which he ordered Hafiz Páshá to winter at Haleb, highly commending his courage and his perseverance in carrying on the siege, though the issue of it had been unfortunate.

Insurrection of janissaries in grand vezír's camp.

An insurrection of the janissaries at Constantinople was the signal for that of their comrades in the camp of the grand vezír at Haleb. They would have cut their secretary Malkodsh Effendi to pieces, had he not fortunately effected his escape to Constantinople; and Kara Mesak, the rebellious chaush, who, when Sultan Mustafa ascended the throne, had despatched the diplomas of sixteen officers of state because no secretary of state was left, was this time pursued by the janissaries and his doom sealed; his head was crushed to atoms, and his corpse thrown on a dunghill. This twofold insurrection at Constantinople and Haleb, and Abasa's fresh movements in Erzerûm, occasioned the dismissal of the grand vezír. In a great council of state, held in the presence of the mufti and the law officers, the imperial seal was committed to Chalil Páshá, the former grand vezír, in the hope that he would be able to bring his dependent, Abasa, to a tone of moderation. Immediately on

the third day after his nomination to the grand vezírship, Chalil set out from Constantinople to Scutari, in spite of the excessive cold. The snow drifted about, and the frost was so intense, that the beards of people were covered with icicles, and many persons were frozen to death. This severity of weather, so unusual for Constantinople, was looked upon as ominous of the severe and hard contest which was likely to be maintained with Abasa. Chalil, who was the patron of the great Sheikh Mahmud of Scutari, to whom he had formerly sent intelligence of his victories, and to whose cell he had repaired when he was formerly displaced from his office, visited him again on the present occasion. The sheikh very coolly said, "What! then you have once more become commander-in-chief!" without adding another syllable. Chalil was angry at this reception, and immediately took his departure; but his attendants interpreted the sheikh's laconic speech as betokening nothing favourable. At Konia the high chamberlain brought Chalil the imperial seal, which had been taken from his predecessor at Haleb. At Adnah the Viceroy Kuchuk Hussyn Páshá was executed upon mere suspicion of holding correspondence with Abasa, and the investiture of his office was given to Bostan Páshá. After a lapse of fourteen days the grand vezír made his entrance into Haleb, where, upon some indistinct suspicions, he ordered the aga of the salihdars, the Long Mustafa, to be put to death. In the middle of July the army broke up from Haleb, and, on the seventh day of their march, crossed

the Euphrates, and encamped on the twenty-fifth day in sight of Diarbeker, upon the Antelope hill. A report prevailed that Achiska was threatened by the Persians, upon which Dishleng Hussyn Páshá was ordered to march thither for its defence with a detachment of from four to five thousand men, composed of the respective corps commanded by the Páshás of Diarbeker, Haleb, Meroesh, Romeili, and the aga of the janissaries. Bostan Páshá was commissioned to invite Abasa Páshá to co-operate with them. Abasa received the envoy páshá with all due ceremony, and replied to the grand vezír's letter in these terms; "I am a humble slave of the padisháh; the country is yours: but you are aware that the Levends are afraid of the janissaries. Be contented with the present arrangement, and allow, while you march from the side of Moush, that I should in the meantime advance to Achiska from this quarter, with the forces of the páshás under me, as seraskier." The grand vezír wrote back; "The soldiers will not have you here as seraskier; proceed forward, then, according to your orders, and do your duty, that the padisháh may pardon you." Abasa, who, from some intercepted letters of Chalil, evidently saw that his ruin was resolved on, kept upon the watch; and, while he pretended to march off on the road towards Achiska, encamped close to Ilidja (warm baths), in the neighbourhood of Erzerûm, and sent the judge of Erzerûm as his envoy to the páshás. Dishleng Páshá, a brave soldier, but a violent inconsiderate man, received the judge

with the harsh expressions, "What a fellow this Abasa is! I have easily beaten Jennet-oghli, who pretended to have royal blood in his veins. Methinks I shall have no greater trouble with Abasa, if he chooses to revolt." Abasa upon this affected the fullest submission; the gates and market of Erzerûm were thrown open, so that the janissaries had free communication with the town, being encamped under the command of their colonel at the rudder-gate. Abasa well knew, partly from the intercepted letters, and partly from his numerous emissaries, that this enterprise towards Achiska was undertaken with a view to his destruction; and that his enemies were only waiting for a favourable moment to strike the blow. To anticipate their design, therefore, he one night surprised the unsuspecting janissaries in their encampment; he either killed or took them all prisoners, and then immediately commenced his march towards Ilidja. Dishleng had resolved the day before to proceed to Erzerûm on the following morning. In the night a Kurd came with a black turban on his head, desiring in the most pressing terms to speak to the seraskier. Dishleng's servants ordered him to retire and wait till morning; upon which the supposed Kurd threw off his turban upon the ground, exclaiming, "I am a janissary escaped from the carnage of Abasa." Upon this the man was instantly conducted to the seraskier, who as instantly issued orders for the troops to mount their horses; and at day-break they had reached the entrance of the pass between Ilidja and Erze-

The janissaries surprised by Abasa.

rûm. "Here, said Dishleng Páshá, we will halt." Sor Páshá, viceroy of Meroesh, recommended the more prudential measure of encamping on the other side of the pass, alleging that it was not to be expected Abasa would leave them any repose. Dishleng answered, "That his son being very weak and unable to proceed from illness, they must halt on the spot." "God forbid!" returned Sor-páshá, and rode forward with his detachment. Torrents of rain had fallen during the night. Hussyn Dishleng had pulled off his clothes and spread them out, as well as his tent, to dry. When it was full day, Abasa's troop of well-mounted cavalry poured out of their place of concealment to the pass and surprised Dishleng, thus totally unprepared for the attack. He mounted his horse in his green silken under-dress, managing it with the most perfect skill and agility; but he was pierced through the neck by a spear from the hand of Abasa's quarter-master, who fell upon him. The sons of Dishleng and Chosrew fell in the engagement, together with many páshás; some were taken prisoners, and others were happy in being able to escape, and took the road to Hossn-keif. The defeat was general. At Erzerûm a complete slaughter of the janissaries took place; the bodies of their officers were quartered, and their limbs thus severed were hanged up upon the battlements of the city. Chosrew Páshá the beglerbeg, and all the other páshás and begs, who had been taken prisoners, were strangled, with the exception of Bostan Páshá; the janissaries were detected in all

their places of concealment and traced in all their disguises, to be butchered without mercy. In order to identify their persons they were stripped from head to foot. The janissaries usually wore under-clothes of such a kind, that their knees were left perfectly at liberty and uncovered, so that there might be no pressure or straining of the limb, when they were required to kneel down for the discharge of their pieces. In this way many innocent persons were executed, as supposed janissaries, merely because they wore this kind of dress. A real janissary, who owed his life to the compassion of the aga who was to have killed him, brought the news of this melancholy defeat of the páshás to Constantinople.

This defeat, and the conquest of Achiska, soon afterwards, by the Persians, whom Abasa was said to have secretly encouraged, subjected the grand vezír to a great deal of ridicule, and revived the recollection of the losses he had formerly sustained at Erdebil from the same enemy. He advanced to Ilidja, and then encamped on the heights before Erzerûm. Though Abasa had formerly been Chalil's armour-bearer, he nevertheless closed the gates of the city against him, and pointed the guns of the fort upon his tent. Chalil was destitute of artillery, and was under the necessity of procuring cannon of sufficient weight of metal to answer the purpose of a siege from Tortum. The arrival of Maghraw Khan, the prince of Georgia, gave the army some spirit; he had brought with him a large mortar, and two others came from

Olti. Various struggles took place with various success, the garrison making continual sallies; and the siege had lasted seventy days without the slightest prospect of the place being taken by the assailants, when it was now the end of November, and the winter set in with a great fall of snow. The grand vezír raised the siege, and marched his army amidst the deepest snow and over places perfectly trackless towards Tokát, which he reached after a tedious march of twenty-five days, in which he lost a considerable number of men and a great quantity of baggage. Never had the Osman army suffered so severely from the intensity of winter. In the dangerous mountain-pass called Ewbash Joli many men perished by the cold: others had their hands and feet frozen; so that when the army arrived at Tokát above a thousand men had lost either a hand or a foot. But the depth of snow was not the only difficulty which they were obliged to contend against: much more danger accrued to them from the chasms in the mountain-passes, which the snow prevented them from seeing, and the perpetual fall of avalanches. The movement of so large a body of men over the mountain-roads set the snow-roads violently in motion, and whole battalions were inevitably precipitated to the bottom of the abyss. At Tokát Pir Ahmed, the commandant of Ersenjan, and Attallah, the commandant of Beybúrd, who had hitherto sided with Abasa, came to beg pardon of the grand vezír and offer their services. These offers were accepted by their being each promoted to the com-

Siege of Erzerûm.

Nov. 1627.

mand of a troop of horse; and the example had the happy effect of inducing many of Abasa's party to come to the camp of Chalil, who was, however, himself summoned to Constantinople as the fourth vezír, and displaced from his former high dignity by the sultan on account of the ill success of the campaign against Abasa. He died soon after his arrival at a very advanced age, and was buried at Scutari; one of the most upright grand vezírs of the Osman kingdom, a man not only panegyrised by the Osman historians, but noticed by the European ambassadors of that day as being justly entitled to commendation for his disinterestedness and impartiality.

Chalil was succeeded in his office by Chosrew, a Bosnian, formerly salihdar, afterwards aga of the janissaries, and vezír, and now promoted to the highest dignity of the kingdom, in preference to Rejeb Páshá, the older vezír, after having been named viceroy of Diarbeker and commander-in-chief of the forces against Abasa. He received the imperial seal on his march to Nicomedia. In the beginning of June he reached Tokát, where, though his stay was short, he sacrificed to his caprice several officers for very trivial offences. He hastened his departure, for fear Erzerûm, as well as Baghdád, should at last fall into the hands of the Persians. At Sivás rations were distributed to the army, and the restless Turkman insurgent, Kutshur Beg, was beheaded. Upon the plain of Akshar arrived the ammunition of the Páshá of Haleb, Noghai Páshá, and a thousand hundred-

weight of powder from Egypt. Sixteen days after, an emissary brought the important intelligence that Jusuf Páshá was reduced to great extremities by Abasa, who was besieging him in Hasankalaa; that Abasa did not expect the grand vezír's arrival within twenty days at the earliest; and that, by a forced march, he might easily be cut off from Erzerûm. Chosrew did not lose an hour in availing himself of the news, but mustered his cavalry and set off, threatening the general of the artillery with the loss of his head, if the cannon did not reach Erzerûm three days after the grand vezír's arrival thither. He hastened on with his cavalry beyond Chamurlü and Mama-Chatun to Erzerûm, comprising the ordinary march of four days in two. Abasa, surprised by the unexpected intelligence of so rapid an arrival, had had no opportunity of throwing himself into the fort; the corn lay yet unthreshed in the barns, and the fort was not provided with requisite stores. The Sheikh of Kaissarije, Abasa's adviser, this time gave him to understand that, in his opinion, the fort was in no condition to resist the enemy. After the bringing up of the artillery Chosrew encamped on the hill lying in front of the city, called Devebojuni (Camel's-neck). The grand vezír and beglerbeg of Romeili brought seven cannon to bear on the side of the suburb; Ahmed Páshá opened the trenches on that side of the city which is called Kunbed (the Dome); and Maghraw Muhammed Beg on the side of the Georgian gate. But, at the same time, Chosrew opened a friendly negociation

with Abasa, by means of a townsman of Abasa, promising him that if he quietly surrendered, he should not only be perfectly secure, but received unreservedly into favour. Accordingly, on the fourteenth day of the siege, the Sheikh of Kaissarije, and six other sheikhs, made their appearance in the grand vezír's camp, with black cloths round their necks, begging for mercy. They declared that Abasa was ready to evacuate the place, if Musslihеddin Aga, one of the chief agas and confidential servants of the grand vezír, should be sent to him to communicate that such was the grand vezír's pleasure. This proposal was agreed to; Abasa repaired to the grand vezír's camp, where he met with an honourable reception, and was clothed with caftans, while six hundred of his retainers were enrolled as jebedji. Abasa marched out with all his treasures and took up his quarters close to the grand vezír, who on his part took possession of the fort, appointing Tajjar Muhammed Páshá the viceroy and giving him the investiture; and proposing, in his official notification to the Porte, the viceroyalty of Egypt for the Aga of the janissaries, Chalil. Neither of these two appointments was approved by the sultan. Intelligence was brought that Shemsi-khan, the Persian, who was approaching Erzerûm, when he saw that he had come too late, had turned off in the direction of Kars and was ravaging the adjacent country; but that his forces had been defeated by Köee Isafer Páshá, commandant of Kars, and himself taken prisoner. In the middle of October Chos-

Abasa surrenders upon favourable terms.

rew set out, accompanied by Abasa and his prisoner Shemsi-khan, together with his whole army, which had now passed three successive winters in Asia. He entered Constantinople in triumph at the beginning of December, and treated Abasa and his friend the sheikh with politeness and distinction during the whole line of march; thus affording an example of a grand vezír keeping faith with a traitor, a circumstance almost incredible and totally unprecedented.

Unfolding of Murad's character.

At the end of the first lustrum of Murad's reign, which concluded with the suppression of Abasa's dangerous revolt, we may take a view of him as the young man now in his seventeenth year,—a period when he was of necessity very much altered from the boy who ascended the throne before the completion of his twelfth year. He was in figure large and stoutly built; with a full face of a dark olive colour, black piercing eyes, and a stern countenance. To great precision in business he joined the strongest desire of information; so that he took an interest in every thing that was new to him and with which he was unacquainted, and wished to be accurately informed of every occurrence. He used to walk the streets of Constantinople in disguise, as his brother Osman had done before him. He was busy in the removal of abuses in the management of the fiefs; and though the merit of the ordinances abolishing the feudal tenures at this time is probably due to Chosrew or the defterdar (minister of finance), yet they bear the name of the Regulations of Murad the

Fourth. He began now to be sensible of his power and to be disgusted with being under the tutelage of his mother, the Sultaness Kösem; who, in league with her creature, the Kislaraga Mustafa, used to govern in the sultan's name and nominate the grand vezírs. He was very angry at the enormous protection which she granted to her own favourite and the Kislaraga's, the new Kapudan Páshá, Hasan, his own brother-in-law. As a proof of his displeasure, and to make his brother-in-law and the mother sultaness tremble, he ordered the Kapudan Páshá to be deprived of his wife. This took place a short time before the execution of his brother-in-law, Kara Mustafa, who was beheaded for his extortions in Asia. The harem of a sultaness must not be profaned as a place of resort for a criminal condemned to death,—it was not to be regarded as a sanctuary affording him the least security; though, in this single instance, the sultan's displeasure, usually fatal as lightning, was pacified. In order to soften and appease his wrath, the valide (sultaness-dowager) expended, on an entertainment which she gave her son, ten thousand ducats; besides making him a present of horses richly adorned with jewels. The strength of the sultan's constitution about this time resisted a very dangerous illness. His headstrong passions rendered him the slave of every sensual indulgence; so that his vicious irregularities had occasioned an illness, which became the more violent from his refusal to submit to any of the regulations prescribed by his physicians. Contrary to all expecta-

tion he recovered. It was at that melancholy period, the early part of the seventeenth century, when most European thrones were shaken by rebellions; when fanaticism shewed itself in the most hideous forms; when the plague was committing its ravages, not only at Constantinople, but had devoured in England and in France one hundred thousand persons; and when the armies of the union and the league desolated the heart of Germany: at one and the same moment, Rochelle, the most western point of France, was besieged, and Baghdád, the most easterly border-fortress of the Osman empire; and, from the black cloud of wo and confusion which overspread Europe and Asia, the murder of their sultan, Osman, perpetrated by a rebellious soldiery, shed a glaring bloody light, and the star of Murad the Fourth arose still more portentous of the blood which he was to shed as his avenger.

CHAPTER XIII.

MURAD THE FOURTH (CONTINUED).

Chosrew's March to Haleb—Discontents of Army—Death of Sháh Abbas—Effect of Rains in Mesopotamia—Overflow of Euphrates and Tigris—Passage of Zab on Floats—March to Shehrsor, Hasanabad, Hamadan—Wanton Destruction of those Cities by Chosrew—March to Baghdád by Elvend, Harunabad, Derteng—Commencement of the Siege of Baghdád—Unsuccessful Assault—Retreat of the Osmans to Mossul and Merdin—Chosrew goes into Winter-quarters at Haleb—His Dismissal and Death—Series of Rebellions consequent thereupon—Insurgents encouraged by the Grand Vezír Rejeb—His Execution—Fire at Constantinople—Coffee-houses suppressed and Tobacco forbidden—Numerous Executions—Murder of the Mufti—Defeat of the Prince of Druses in Syria—The Sultan's remorseless and unrelenting Tyranny—Commands the Death of Abasa.

Chosrew Páshá, the grand vezír, prepared at the commencement of the spring to set out towards Hamadan. The tents were pitched at Scutari; Rejeb Páshá undertook the office of Kaimakam at Constantinople, and the Kapudan Páshá, Hasan, put to sea with his fleet for the Mediterranean. In consequence of a mutiny among the spáhís at the distribution of their pay, on which occasion they demanded good gold for base coin, and piastres for aspers, the ringleader was beheaded; and Chosrew Páshá called for the muster-roll, and struck off the

Chosrew's march to Haleb. May 1629.

list the names of the mutineers with his own hand. He was almost on the point of suppressing the spáhís in favour of the janissaries, but the immediate necessities of the campaign compelled him to give way, and to conciliate the spáhís by again enrolling those who had been dismissed the service. Nothing but the most urgent necessity could have forced the blood-thirsty Chosrew to these lenient measures; he would in any other case have allowed full scope to his murderous inclination. Of a resolution to dare any thing, but at the same time violent and savage, narrow-minded and penurious, he was universally feared and hated. Chosrew did not trouble himself to consider that the wounds inflicted by a proud and haughty demeanour might be softened by a noble frankness and generosity; or that a low-minded avarice could only be overlooked and pardoned when veiled by humility and gentleness. The hearts of the soldiery were alienated from him; and the general presentiment as to the issue of this campaign was no favourable one. The soldiery were rendered desponding, too, by some popular superstitious notion, attached to the circumstance of a violent and sudden storm of rain having inundated and carried off several tents; though this dejection was removed by the intelligence which arrived before the breaking up from Scutari, of the death of Sháh Abbas of Persia, after a reign of forty-four years. He was succeeded by his grandson, Sam Mirsa, the son of Ssaffi, under the name of his father Ssaffi, which he assumed. Sháh Abbas was a great sovereign, the glory of

whose reign was, however, stained by state murders. Not only was the beginning of his reign distinguished for the butchery of the rebellious ringleaders of those Kurdish and Turkman tribes who claimed the right of possession to the throne prior to himself, but he is handed down as the murderer of his son, and as a fanatical Shii. He ordered the greatest caligraphist of his own and the following age, Aamad Elhuseini, without any regard to science and art, to be put to death, merely because he was a rigid Sunni. The camp broke up from Scutari at the beginning of July; and the march of the army was conspicuous for a long list of executions, in which Chosrew was only the sanguinary forerunner of Murad, who some years after marked the stations on the same road to Baghdád by still more numerous executions of real or supposed criminals, At Aksheher, Konia, and Haleb successively, the grand vezír sacrificed some victims, either on real or plausible grounds to his naturally ferocious temper.

The army proceeded forwards from Haleb after seventeen days' rest. The viceroy of Anadoli, Sorpáshá, was sent with the Ulufeji of the left wing against the Turkman clan Bin Deli, who were tending their flocks round Orfa and Birejik, from whom he carried off ten thousand sheep and a hundred teams of camels, so that every article was abundant and cheap in the camp. At Birejik (Birtha), well known as the ford of the Euphrates, from the history of the wars between the Romans and Persians, and between these latter and the

Byzantine emperors, a hundred boats were ordered to be built; the artillery and provision were commanded to be forwarded to the harbour of Feluje (Thiluta), where the canal Anacepracta, or the river of Isa, carried on from the Tigris, disembogues into the Euphrates. At Kojhissar, a castle standing on a mountain between Roha (Edessa) and Nissibin, the Defterdar Ebubekr Páshá, one of the oldest vezírs, and distinguished for his eminent services, was summoned, and, after some dispute, sent prisoner to Mardin. Out of eighty thousand piastres which had been sent by Maanoghli, the prince of the Druses, into the camp, the defterdar had given, at the vezír's request, thirty thousand to the kiaja of the vezír, Haji Aiwad Suleiman. The vezír, however, still demanded these thirty thousand of the defterdar, who replied that he had already paid them to the kiaja. This latter, in his difficulty of accounting for the sum, transferred all the blame to the defterdar, and irritated the grand vezír still more against him. The defterdar was carried away under pretence of removal from Mardin to Mossul, and murdered on the road; while his property was confiscated, and his office bestowed on Mustafa Páshá of Nikdé. The artillery, which had been shipped from Constantinople to Pias, and then transported overland by way of Kojhissar and Nissibin, was now arrived at Mossul, but not without the loss of a thousand buffaloes. Incessant rains had transformed the peninsula of Mesopotamia into a lake. The Tigris and Euphrates had at the same time overflowed

Effect of rains in Mesopotamia. 1629.

their banks, and inundated all the intervening country; upon which only those places projected which lay on the higher grounds. When the water fell, the mud was so deep that the men could not pass in the camp from one tent to another without riding. It was consequently necessary to pass the winter here, which soon set in with a severity unknown in these parts. There was snow at Mossul, where the oldest people had never seen any; at Diarbeker the snow choked up the streets, and on the outside of the city lay upwards of six feet in depth. At the next disbursement of pay the spáhís were tumultuous; they would not submit to the Mulasimbashi who was set over them (that is, the colonel of the candidates for places of receivers and comptrollers), a coarse, ill-mannered Turk; they stabbed him with their daggers, and then went back quietly to their tents. Excessive rains detained the army seventy days encamped at Mossul, whence it broke up at the end of January. The Persian garrisons of the castles Deluk and Kerkuk had fled to Baghdád at the news of the near approach of the Osman army, and the begs of the surrounding Kurdish tribes came to pay their respects to the grand vezír, and to kiss hands. Seidkhan, the old Lord of Amadia, confirmed in his hereditary sovereignty by Sultan Suleiman, Mirebeg, the head of the Kurdish clan Suhran, and forty thousand of the clan Bajlan, a mixed tribe of Arabs and Kurds, who rove about in the parts round Baghdád, brought a present to the army of thirty thousand sheep. Boats were built for the con-

veyance of the artillery to Baghdád upon the Euphrates and Tigris. When the grand vezír came to the bank of the Zab (Zabatus), it was so swollen that the army could only be conveyed across by means of floats, which the Kurds hastily fastened together, composed of leathern bags inflated with air, on which occasion, however, a great quantity of baggage and beasts of burden, as well as a number of men, were lost. At the third encampment after the passage of the Zab, the grand vezír held a council of war with the Kurdish begs; and it was resolved, that it was impossible, at this season of the year, when all the rivers were swollen and overflowed, to enter upon the siege of Baghdád; that besides, Ahmed, the Lord of the Kurdish tribes of Ardelan and Suhran, threatened to annoy the army in the rear, and that it was consequently advisable for the present to make a detour to Shehrsor, the capital of Kurdistan. The territories of the kurdish begs, Mirebeg and Bestambeg, the former of whom had left the camp in a suspicious manner, while the other was the avowed friend of the Persians, were invaded, and their cattle driven off to the Osman camp. Meat was consequently so plentiful, that no one would give an asper for a sheep; but upon the march between the Zab and the golden river (Caprus) there was so great a scarcity of corn, that the kilo of barley was not to be had for ten piastres. This scarcity was remedied by the arrival of Murad Khan, the nephew of Ahmed Khan, who brought supplies of grain to the grand vezír, attended by six or seven sons of khans. From the

Passage of the Zab on floats. Feb. 1630.

villages of the Sandjak of Khúi, whose inhabitants favoured the Persians, ten thousand sheep were driven off into the camp, but so much out of con-
Feb. 1630. dition, as to be only skin and bone. They were killed, and bags made of their skins for conveying the army across the Altun-su (golden river). A janissary, by trade a shipwright, built a skiff out of some trees, felled on purpose, which, for want of the necessary pitch to calk it with, he covered over with dressed ox-hides. In this skiff the grand vezír and other great men passed over, and the contriver of the plan received a recompense of two hundred piastres. Many beasts of burden, which attempted to swim across, were carried down by the current, and many riders drowned. The general of the ordnance, Hamsa Aga, whom the grand vezír had commanded to secure, by an immediate position on a rising eminence, the ammunition-waggons, which were transported upon the floats, had left them on the bank of the river. Next morning it was discovered that in the night-time the water had carried off some to a considerable distance, and had overthrown others. The Jebedjibashi paid the loss by the forfeiture of his head. The army continued its march on the other side of the golden river, beyond Lughan and Sebschinar, to the territory belonging to the clans Ardelan and Suhran, whose sovereign Ahmed Khan came attended by his brother, Muminkhan, with professions of submission to the grand vezír. He complimented them with robes of honour; and paid particular attention to this latter, because he

was a sunni. The commandants of Suruj and Chasu paid their respects and kissed hands.

The whole territory of Ardelan from the Zab to Shehrsor, which is divided into thirty-nine sandjaks, had submitted, and more than twenty kurdish khans, voluntarily or by compulsion, did homage. The grand vezír encamped at Shehrsor (Siazuros), the proper and oldest capital of Kurdistan, which was called from time immemorial Nimrah, that is, half way, because it was situated half way between Azerbaijan and Medain; it took the name of Shirfirus from the name of its founder, Kobad Ben Firus, of the dynasty Sasan, from whence originated the subsequent name of Shehrsor. Here a mania for building seized the grand vezír, who wasted in this foolish pursuit the precious time which ought to have been spent in marching on Baghdád. March to Shehrsor,

Having at length broken up from Shehrsor, after a total loss of fifty-three days, he proceeded in the direction of Hasanabad (Hasan's building) and Bagjennan (Paradise garden), the residence of Ahmed Khan. Hasanabad, built by Usunhasan, as Hasankalaa was, lies half-way between Shehrsor and Hamadan, distant eight halts both from one and the other. On the road from Shehrsor to Hasankalaa lies the strong fortress Mihreban, for the conquest of which the vezír sent forward a division of ten thousand men, under the command of Noghai Páshá, beglerbeg of Haleb; having under him other beglerbegs and the janissaries. The castle surrendered, and was occupied by the to Hasanabad.

Turnaji Mustafa with his janissaries, while the other beglerbegs encamped on the outside, till the arrival of the grand vezír. Meantime Seinel, the khan of the khans, pushed on with forty thousand men towards Mihreban, by the advice of Chopur-bekir, Abasa's companion in arms, not reflecting who it was that gave the advice, in order to make himself master of Shehrsor with all possible haste, and to take the grand vezír in his camp. The battle was hotly contested, like that of Chaldiran. The beglerbegs performed prodigies of valour against an enemy whose numbers were four times superior to their own. Seinel was defeated, leaving three thousand men dead on the field, besides two thousand who were taken prisoners. Upon his return to Beshparmak, where the sháh was encamped, he was put to death, and the Khan of Tabríz, Rustem, named to the dignity of khan of the khans. The scale of victory had been determined in favour of the Osmans by the timely coming up of Sorpáshá, who had been sent by the grand vezír to reinforce the begs, as soon as he heard of Seinel's march upon Mihreban. A rebellion in the camp of the grand vezír on the part of the spáhis, who required provision and a double gratuity, was appeased by payment of a whole gratuity and by voluntary augmentation of pay to the amount of two aspers per man daily.

On the sixth day after setting out from Shehrsor the army arrived at Mihreban. From Mihreban they advanced to the pass of Serabad, which the Beglerbeg of Diarbeker had been ordered to

secure before the main body of the army came up. This man had made repeated complaints of the Kurdish Beg of Chasu, for no other reason than that he was displeased at his ostentatious parade, and reported him to the grand vezír, as having neglected his duty as commander of the out-posts. The grand vezír had already threatened once to put him to death, and the beg, who knew Chosrew's character too well to doubt his punctually keeping his word in this case, had ever since been very cautious of coming within sight of the grand vezír, and never approached him without wearing a cuirass under his clothes. At the entrance of the pass, where the Beglerbeg of Diarbeker took an opportunity of renewing his complaints against the negligence of the kurdish beg, the grand vezír ordered the kurd to be summoned, and while he was severely reproaching him, called the executioner. The beg no sooner heard this, than he drew a sword, which he always kept concealed under his clothes for an emergency like the present, and aimed a stroke with it at the grand vezír, who was seated behind the tent-pole. The Kiaja Suleiman, in his effort to intercept the blow, had three of his fingers cut off by the sabre, which also severed the tent-pole; while the agas of the inner court fell upon the khan from behind, and stabbed him with their daggers. Seven kurds, who drew their sabres in his defence, were instantly cut to pieces, and their corpses thrown out with that of their commander in front of the tent. On the following day the army passed through the defile,

and encamped on the other side of it in the vale of Sheikh Ajar. Chosrew, either to cool his wrath, or, more probably to quiet the kurds, who were alarmed at the death of the most considerable of their begs, ordered the Beglerbeg of Diarbeker to be executed by way of compensation.

After four more halts, the army encamped at Hasanabad, the residence of the Khan of the tribe of Ardelan. In a valley bounded by a low range of hills, like that of the sweet water at Constantinople, stands, erected close to a little river, the lofty square palace which bears the name of the Garden of Paradise, shaded on both sides by woods of plantain-trees; the apartments consist of three stories high, wainscoted partly with gold and lapis-lazuli, partly with Persian porcelain, partly with a polished surface of stucco in imitation of marble, upon which there are moveable smooth pictures, and others which, in the most famous picture-gallery of the East, namely that of Erteng, remind the spectator of the Persian painter Mani (the founder of the sect of the Manichees), whose skill procured him the appellation of prophet. When Ahmed-khan, who served two masters, had made his escape, the whole palace was ravaged, so that the mere walls were left standing; whatever could be torn to pieces, such as the windows and doors, was effectually destroyed. Ahmed Khan's brother, Muminkhan, shewed his disposition to serve the Osmans, by taking the castle Pelengan and sending in ten Persian prisoners, who were beheaded, just as those two thousand had been at Shehrsor, who

Hasanabad destroyed.

were sent in from Mihreban. The castle, which the Persians continued to occupy opposite the village Naiser (the next station), was left unmolested. Continuing their march through rich corn-fields, highly cultivated and well supplied with water, as well as villages exceedingly populous, the army proceeded towards Hamadan, and encamped before it at the beginning of June. Hamadan, the old Ecbatana, surrounded in the time of Herodotus with seven walls, but so early as the age of Polybius without walls, and since that period without even a castle, is said to have been two parasangs in circumference, when the Persian kingdom was in its most flourishing condition. It had been conquered by Bedil, the son of Werka; next by Merdavij, the prince of the Dilemites, and lastly by Jengyz, whose invasion was accompanied by the total destruction of the place, and the slaughter of the inhabitants. It was subsequently raised to some importance as a city, like Adrianople, containing from five to six thousand houses, and amongst them several palaces with walls painted in the Persian style, and numerous mosques; one of which is called the mosque of one thousand and one pillars, because the roof was so artificially constructed, that one thousand beams are closely connected with one single beam, which supports the whole burden. According to a certain prophecy, the ruin of the city depended upon the destruction of this mosque; the beam of which happened to be broken a short time before the arrival of the Turkish army, and the whole mosque fell with it.

Hamadan described.

This mosque, with its one thousand and one pillars, was no less famous than formerly the temple of Anaitis, to whose honour beautiful temples were raised in the three capitals of the ancient Persian empire, at Ecbatana, Susa, and Babylon; that at Ecbatana was adorned with golden pilasters and silver tiles. In the modern great mosque, the Jews visit the graves of Esther and Mordecai; and the Moslems those of the great mystic poet, Attar, and that of Ebulola Hafiz. The delightful situation of the city, standing as it does amongst gardens and well-watered fields, has deservedly procured for it the reputation of exercising a soul-inspiring influence on the inhabitants, who were, in all ages, addicted to games and amusements. The pleasant coolness of the summer at Hamadan, has afforded the Arabic and Persian poets ample room for panegyric; though the severity of the winter has called forth their censures. The most famous of these literary men, Bedius-seman Hamadani (that is, the wonder of the age, of Hamadan), the author of mystic stanzas, which are considered as scarcely inferior to those of Hariri, the first of Arabic rhetoricians, indulges in bitter sarcasms upon his countrymen: for he says, the boys of Hamadan have all the practice and experience of grown-up men, and the old men all the childishness of boys. This beautiful, rich, and lively city, whose inhabitants had deserted it at the approach of the Osman army, not without a certain foreboding of its impending fate, fell a sacrifice to Osman barbarism, and to that wanton spirit of havoc in which

the Turkish Chosrew laboured to outdo the Tatar Jengyz. All the trees in the neighbourhood were cut down, and every house was burnt to the ground; so that the environs, to a considerable distance, exhibited nothing but a cloud of smoke and ashes. The stone walls, which had resisted the fire, were destroyed with saws and axes, hammers and clubs, and levelled to the ground; all Persians were dragged from their places of concealment, where they had thought themselves secure, and were brought before the grand vezír and beheaded. The work of ruin, which was six days in operation, did not leave one stone upon another, and carried the name of Chosrew to the utmost boundary of Persia, as Chosrew the Merciless. On the seventh day he broke up from Hamadan, and took the high road which leads from Kaswin to Dergüsin.

March to Baghdád by Elvend.

Dergüsin, on other occasions the second halting-place on the road from Hamadan to Kaswin, was not reached by the army till after the third march, and in three days shared the same fate as Hamadan. From thence to Kaswin were ten stations. But want of water on the road induced the grand vezír to call a council of war, in which all further march on Kaswin was abandoned; because, admitting that they ravaged the place, as they had Hamadan and Dergüsin, the conquest of Baghdád, which was the main object of the expedition, would not by this means be at all nearer its accomplishment. Some members in the council suggested that they should make for Erdebil, where the sháhs

were interred) as formerly the old Persian kings were at Erbil), but the Reis Effendi, Mossli Effendi, loudly insisted on the necessity of executing the sultan's command for the reduction of Baghdád, as superior to all other considerations. It was resolved, therefore, to retreat from Dergüsin, and to proceed by way of Beshparmak on towards Baghdád, which it was calculated would be reached in sixty marches. Along the mountain-range of Elvend (Orontes) you come to Serabad, in the direct road to the mountain Bisutūn, the Bagistane, or vineyard of Diodorus Siculus, and the grotto of Tak-Bostan, that is, garden-land, where the monuments of the old Persian kings furnish subjects of poetry to the modern poets of Persian romance, according to whom the Kurdish sculptor, Ferhad, is said to have immortalised his love for the beautiful and lovely Shirin by the perpendicular hewing of the rock, and by grottoes and large halls composed of entire rock, and canals. Diodorus tells us, that Semiramis formerly dug through the Orontes to supply Ecbatana with water, and cut through Mount Bagistane (Bisutūn); and that even then the country was remarkable for its abundant vineyards and plantations. The modern Persian writers of poetical romance now call the canal of Semiramis by the name of the Milk-canal of Shirin, which they say was dug by Ferhad to supply fresh milk for his mistress; and that the beautiful pomegranate-trees of the plain are so many propagated shoots of the axe of Ferhad,—which, dipped in his heart's blood, and thrown from the rock, stuck fast in the ground;

and so taking root, bore fruit like pomegranates, the seeds of which are so many bloody hearts. The ruins of the old temple dedicated to Diana at Konkobar are considered by the Persians to be those of a palace of Chosrew Perwis, the husband of Shirin, and those of Artemita, or Destajerd, are now called the palace of Shirin (Kassr Shirin). From Hamadan to Kermanshah, to Bisutūn, and Tak-bostan, from the range of Orontes to Mount Zagros, from Kassr Lussus (Konkobar) to Kassr Shirin (Artemita), the whole country, exhibiting one continued face of a beautiful garden, is peculiarly the subject of traditions connected with the ancient history of Persia, and is highly celebrated in the romantic poetry of modern Persian authors.

During the march of the grand vezír, he received intelligence that Babakhan and Hussynkhan Lori, the Viceroys of Loristan, were encamped, with eight thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry from Mázinderár in the plains of Derteng and Chemcal. He detached the Beglerbegs of Romeili and Anadoli with those of Adnah and Damascus against them; and, upon finding these unable to cope with the superior force of the Persians, he sent them a reinforcement of six thousand men, under the command of the Beglerbeg of Karaman. The Persians were defeated: Lori Hussyn escaped with difficulty, and Babakhan was taken prisoner. The grand vezír passed over the sháh's bridge, over which Sultan Suleiman had formerly gone, and encamped on the plain of Deshtmahi, distant about thirty marches from

Baghdád. Though the road lay through a fertile country, full of villages handsomely built, which abundantly supplied them with wheat, rice, and barley, there was a great scarcity of other necessaries, so that a horse-shoe cost five piastres, an okka of salt two ducats, an okka of meat half a piastre, an okka of biscuit two piastres, and an okka of butter above a ducat. From Deshtmahi they came in six marches to Harunabad. Fifteen hundred janissaries and the Beg of Tripolis were sent forward to occupy the pass of Derteng, which was the next point to be gained. They made a detour into the plain opposite Kassr Shirin and Holwan; being at this latter place reinforced both by troops from Constantinople and artillery from Mossul. Continuing their march they passed the reed-bridge (Chubukköprü) to Naamanije, and in the neighbourhood of the sepulchre of the great Imam, they encamped at Bashdolab, on the bank of the Euphrates,* where double pay for a quarter was given to the janissaries; to the spáhís eleven piastres per man, as pay for the recruits; and fourteen days' rest was granted to the troops till the arrival of the artillery. When the artillery came, it was unloaded from the rafts, and placed upon the gun-carriages. The grand vezír in the meantime visited the sepulchre of the great imam, and attended public service on the Friday, when, according to the usual form of praise of the four

* It is impossible that this should be other than the Tigris: the "Euphrates" is probably an error of the press.

chaliffs, the name of the sultan was pronounced with solemnity from the pulpits. At the end of the month the trenches were opened, which, agreeably to the moslem superstitious notions, founded on astrological calculations, was an unlucky day, because all undertakings, to be successful, should be begun, not at the end of the expiring month, but at the commencement of the new one.

Siege of Baghdád commenced.

The seven cannons of the grand vezír were drawn from the gate of the castle of the greatest imam to the bank of the Tigris, and planted opposite the seraglio, and the tower built by Sultan Suleiman covered with porcelain of various colours; and the firing was opened upon the town on the side of the bird-castle (Kushlar-kalaasi). Above five hundred balls were discharged into the city every day, and these were answered with a fire equally well supported. The Commandant of Baghdád, Ssafi Kulikhan, with the former Darogha of Isfahan, Amyr Fettah, and Amyr Chemal, defended the place with the utmost bravery. Every breach in the walls was immediately repaired with gabions made of branches of palm-trees woven together. Contrary to all military rules and customs, the grand vezír gave orders for the camp, which is generally at some distance from the trenches, to be brought up close to them. By way of protection, skins used to support floats were filled with earth, and thus furnished a breastwork to the besiegers; behind which the civil secretaries attached to the army took their notes. Katibchelebi, well known under the name of Haji Chalfa,

the great encyclopædist, geographer, and historian, at that time a clerk in the exchequer-office, had his register in the trenches behind these vineæ of skins, and records the siege as he himself saw it. The cannons from the fort occasioned great havoc in the camp, which, instead of being out of the reach of gun-shot, had been advanced close under the mouth of the guns. At night the besieged placed so many torches and lanterns on the walls that it was as light as day, and, consequently, no operation could be commenced in the trenches under cover of darkness. Seventeen mines, indeed, had been finished within the short space of a month, but they were all discovered and spoiled by the besieged; and the bad powder acting upon the bad metal of the Turkish cannons, made the touch-holes as big as a man's fist. The wall of the fort was entirely destroyed as far as the edge of the trench in one continued line; only from the tower of Sultan Suleiman one half of it was left standing on the side nearest the water; the trenches were filled up with a quantity of earth, and an outcry was raised for a general storming. Amidst the usual shout of "Allah! Allah!" the assault commenced. The rubbish of the walls, which afforded a footing to the assailants, crumbled under the pressure, and made them recoil, so that, while the upper part of the rampart, though uncovered, yet remained inaccessible, the lower part was vigorously defended by the Persians. All those soldiers who approached the walls upon the river, were left in the shallows, and fell an instant sacrifice to

Unsuccessful attempt to storm the city.

the musketry that played upon them from the town. Individuals distinguished themselves by acts of the greatest heroism, but without success. The young Abasa, then general of artillery, was killed by a cannon-ball; Genj Osman, who was wounded by a musket-ball in the ankle, fell into the water; and one of his men who attempted to pull him out was dragged down by him, so that both were drowned. Sor Murtesa Páshá, after commanding his two ensigns to plant his standards on the walls, and both had fallen, stuck his dagger into the wall, mounted upon it, and the moment after raising his colours received a ball in the breast. The guards of the grand vezír and his torch-bearers, who pressed forward with all possible impetuosity, became the victims of their zeal, and Ahmed Páshá was wounded. Evening had set in, and retreat was absolutely necessary. Chosrew foamed with rage, like a wounded serpent rearing itself to assail its adversary. To cool his wrath, he sent the Persian Babakhan, whom he had received into his most intimate confidence, to keep company with the killed, by beheading him, and in the same way the Beg of Scutari (in Albania), because he had heard him give directions, that in the event of his falling he was to be buried in the sepulchre of Imam Musa. "The fellow is a Shii," cried Chosrew; "off with his head." Five days after this unsuccessful attempt to storm the place, a council of war was held, in which a retreat was determined on. Chosrew at his departure fell into the same error which he had committed on

his march to Baghdád. As he then suffered himself to be so far misled by the Kurds, as both to waste in idle frivolities at Shehrsor considerable time, and to lose the services of several of his men, so he now listened to the representations of the Arabs, and despatched the Beglerbeg of Diarbeker, Chalil, with a thousand janissary recruits, to whom he promised the receipt of pay as spáhis, a thousand spáhis, on whom he bestowed an augmentation of four aspers per man, together with three thousand janissaries, artillery-men, and engineers, to Helle and Chuwafer. When the army had passed the Tigris the bridge was broken down, one thousand men were commissioned to escort twenty cannons to Mossul, with the promise of afterwards entering upon the pay of six aspers as spáhis. The line of march was in the direction from Imam Musa beyond Aksheri, Jenije, Imam Sumere, Tekrit, Toprak-kalaa, where pay was distributed to the soldiery. After the expiration of one month the army reached Mossul.

Retreat of Osman army. Dec. 1630.

In the meantime Ahmed, the Khan of Ardelan, at the head of thirty thousand Persians, had surprised and beaten the páshás who had been left behind at Shehrsor. They made good their escape to Mossul, apologising for their flight to the grand vezír, who received them very graciously, and gave them dresses of distinction. Upon being attired in these, they were invited to withdraw into another room, into which the deli of the grand vezír suddenly entered with drawn scymitars, and immediately cut down two of the páshás; a third

succeeded in a temporary flight owing to the swiftness of his horse, but was overtaken and despatched. Chalil Páshá, the Viceroy of Diarbeker, together with those of Adnah and Karaman, had been driven by the Persians from Helle, Feluje, and Chuwafer, so that his páshálik and the occupation of Mossul were entrusted to Tajjar Muhammed Páshá, while the grand vezír took the road across Sinjar, Chatunije, Chakirbasari, towards Mardin. Masons were ordered to proceed from Roha and Diarbeker for the erection of a fort at Mossul, and people were sent to Adnah and Meroesh for the purchase of buffaloes; and the grand vezír sent an express to the Porte intimating the necessity of the army being put into effective condition in the ensuing spring, by a reinforcement from Tartary and the Crimea. He himself spent the winter at Mardin.

The summer of the following year was already far advanced, when Chosrew Páshá set out from Mardin to Koj-hissar, which lies close at the end of the desert of Baghdád, unresolved whether to make a detour from hence to Erzerûm, or fall back upon Mossul. He continued waiting the arrival of the Tartarian auxiliaries. When no reinforcements came, the janissaries and spáhis combined, and openly rebelled about the beginning of September, alleging, that it was too late in the season to enter on a campaign. The grand vezír saw himself obliged to give way. He broke up from Kojhissar, and proceeded in the direction of Diarbeker. Upon reaching the village of Charikoi, he found a detachment of Tartars who had come to

join the army, one half of them with scarcely any clothes at all, the others in the coarsest attire, without anything like military order, or the slightest distinction of rank,—totally undisciplined, just like a herd of cattle roving over the country, or like a flood poured down upon the desert. In the beginning of November Chosrew took up his winter-quarters at Haleb. The land round Erzerûm close to Hasan-kalaa, was assigned as cantonments to the Tartars, and an official statement to this effect was forwarded to the Porte.

Y. of H. 1041. A.D. 1631.

Chosrew deposed.

Janissaries and spáhis rebel.

The ill-success of the grand vezír afforded his enemies at court an opportunity of insinuating to the sultan, that so far from possessing any talent as a general, he was nothing more than a military executioner, and was the sole cause of the siege of Baghdád being raised. He submissively resigned the seals of office to the high chamberlain, who was sent to demand them; but his disgrace was the signal for revolt among the janissaries and spáhis, who were secretly urged by Rejeb, the kaimakam, to the most violent and desperate measures. Hafiz, who had been a second time called to the highest dignity of the empire, was, against the sultan's will, sacrificed to their resentment, and Murad's personal safety was threatened. Clearly seeing, therefore, the source of all these disorders, Murad summoned to his presence Murtesa, the Viceroy of Oczakow, and, under the pretext of granting him the government of Diarbeker, handed to him at the same moment the death-warrant of Chosrew, whose head was shortly afterwards

brought to the Porte. Upon this the rage of the soldiery knew no bounds. They demanded the heads of the minister of finance, of the aga of the janissaries, and of the favourite Musa. They carried their insolence so far as to require that the sultan's four brothers should instantly make their appearance, for that no proof short of that of seeing the princes would convince them of their being alive; and, after being satisfied that the young princes were in health, by their presenting themselves in public, so loudly did the mutineers call for some security that no harm should befall them, that the Mufti Achisade Hussyn and the grand vezír were rash enough to pass their word in the sultan's behalf, that they should be duly protected; while, on the other hand, the sultan was contented with the assurances of the latter, that Musa's life should be spared from the hands of the rebels. He, however, shared the same fate as the aga of the janissaries and the defterdar, being put to death with them the day following.

The successful perpetration of these murders served only to increase the boisterous and brutal clamours of the soldiery. The mutiny had reached the same height as when Sultan Osman was dethroned; the ringleaders among the spáhis openly declared their determination of dethroning Murad, and were to all appearance on the point of accomplishing their object, when the defection of two of the most influential of the rebels suddenly changed the face of affairs, and secured to the sultan his life and throne. The aga of the janissaries, Köse

Muhammed (the Pointed Beard) and Rûm Muhammed (the Greek) zealously resisted the plans of the mutineers, and leagued themselves closely with the court. For two months longer the capital smarted under the forced contributions levied by the soldiery, when Murad determined to lay the axe to the root of this tree of rebellion, whose ramifications were so numerous, by the execution of the grand vezír Rejeb. He was not ignorant that this minister was the treacherous fomenter of the insurrection in the capital, and that he encouraged Elias Páshá, who had raised the standard of rebellion at Aidin. He learnt from his agents, Köse and Rûm Muhammed, the dishonest share which Rejeb had taken in the death of Musa, and had himself witnessed him pledging his word to the soldiery, along with the mufti, that the lives of the princes should be sacred. The dark, melancholy soul of Murad looked on both these transactions as treasonable, and especially could not pardon the manner in which his brother-in-law, the grand vezír, had wrought upon his fears, and frightened him out of the interior of the seraglio to expose himself to the insurgents, who were demanding seventeen heads, and to hold a divan on foot. "My Padisha," was Rejeb's expression at the time, "take the water for your hands," that is, alluding to the customary legal ablution of persons ordered to prepare for death. All these circumstances, added to the danger of losing his life and throne, like Osman, had roused the whole energies of the sultan. On a certain day, after

the holding a divan, at which Rejeb had been present, and had actually gone home, a page waited on him with a summons to the seraglio. When he reached the second gate, some eunuchs directed him to a little door on the left hand of the central gate, where the sultan's private apartments are. At his entrance he was alarmed by the appearance of several black eunuchs in waiting, who looked like so many ravens, ominous of ill-luck. Rejeb was at the time labouring under a fit of the gout, and with difficulty reached the nearest room, where he found the sultan himself. "Come this way," cried Murad, "you captain of rebels, with your hobbling." The grand vezír's heart was at his tongue's end; he was vehement in protestations of his innocence. "Infidel," exclaimed Murad in a commanding tone, with a sneer of indignation, "take the water for your hands:" but, without allowing him time to do so, he added, "Quick,—off with the traitor's head this moment." As the regular executioner was not on the spot, the white eunuchs performed his office. They strangled him, and threw the corpse out in front of the imperial gate of the palace; a sight which so surprised and alarmed the mutineers, several of whom had accompanied him to the gates of the seraglio, that they dispersed.

With the death of Rejeb Páshá, and not till then, Murad commenced his reign as an independent sovereign, master of his own actions. He had for ten years filled the throne merely as a cypher, at once shackled by the sultaness his mother, who

kept him in a state of pupilage, thwarted by his grand vezírs, and bowed down under the iron yoke of rebels. A mere stripling, for he was only twenty years of age, he now resolved to be his own master; and, with this resolution, entered upon the sanguinary career of his new administration. He was deeply irritated and wounded at the manner in which his boyish years had been mismanaged; the feeling of revenge was indelibly stamped upon his soul, and found vent only in bloodshed; and from henceforth he reigned a ferocious tyrant. After the reduction of the spáhís and janissaries to a state of subordination, something more than a year passed in the suppression of rebellions in different parts of the empire, when a fire broke out at Constantinople, which is said to have destroyed twenty thousand houses, that is, no less than the two entire quarters of the capital within its range, with the exception of only two dwellings. It was the effect of mere accident, having been caused by the caulking of a vessel in the harbour. This great fire had excited a feeling of discontent among the populace, which was loudly expressed in the coffee-houses of the metropolis. For fear that these discontents should occasion more fires, and that the coffee-houses should become the focus of fresh insurrections, an order was issued for pulling them all down;—an order which was executed without any exception, and with the most unsparing rigour. This demolition of the coffee-houses was followed by an edict, forbidding the smoking of tobacco under the penalty of death; the pretext for which

Y. of H. 1043. A.D.1633.

Fire at Constantinople.

Coffee-houses and smoking prohibited.

was, the risk of fire incurred by the capital from the use of the pipe. The real object of the prohibition was to disperse all those sauntering loungers, and break up the meetings of those praters who canvassed, over their coffee and smoking, the measures of the government; for the tyrant had reason to fear that, from the steam of cups and the fume of pipes the humours of discontent would be exhaled, and foster opposition and rebellion. Many tart epigrams began to be afloat from the strict enforcement of the statute. "Drive away your black eunuchs," was the popular expression, "who cause us sleepless nights, before you banish the negro coffee; and before you pretend to detest the innocent smoking of tobacco, be anxious to remove the groans and sighs which are heaved from the bosoms of the oppressed." These witticisms had their course; but the sword no less so against all who dared to transgress either of the existing regulations. Every night the sultan himself went his rounds. Whoever was met in the streets without a light in his hand, whoever was discovered with coffee or pipe, was killed on the spot. On the return of morning, the corpses thrown out into the streets attested the barbarous tyranny exercised in the night. Information was no sooner given that a coffee-house was still kept open at Adrianople, than a bostanji was sent to the place, who demolished the building, and ordered the owner to be hanged. A very great number of persons, who persisted in gratifying their taste for coffee and tobacco, lost their heads in consequence of their

indulgence. And even in the day-time Murad rambled through the city and suburbs in disguise, keenly tracing every combination, and dispersing them by his presence. Many persons, illustrious for their rank and services, were put to death by the tyrant on the most frivolous pretences. Among them was the judge of Nicomedia, to whom Murad, upon his arrival at that place, had given an assurance, under his own hand, that he should never be displaced from his office; conferring this high mark of favour on the judge by way of expressing his satisfaction at the manner in which he had superintended the reparation of the city and palace, walls. But having left Nicomedia, Murad, in his journey forwards to Nicæa, found the roads in a very bad condition, for there had been no possibility of repairing them, from the rapidity of the sultan's travelling, and the short notice of his arrival. He therefore sent back his high chamberlain with an order to hang the judge of Nicomedia. All his remonstrances, and even the exhibition of the imperial sign-manual, were alike useless. The judge was suspended for three whole days in his state turban and robes of office, at the gate of the city. His corpse was then taken down, and, after being washed, was interred; all the way to the grave being marked with the blood running from the body,—a circumstance regarded by the people as a convincing proof of his innocence. The news of this execution so alarmed the Ulema, (the law functionaries of Islam) and occasioned such general remarks, that the Mufti Achisade

wrote to the sultaness-dowager, requesting her to represent to her son, that he would not like to draw down upon himself the general imprecation from such shameful treatment of the Ulema, which, however, would probably ensue, especially in such an excited state as the people then were. It happened, unfortunately for the mufti, that the conversation had turned upon this tragical event at a dinner given to him by the chief of the amyrs, Allame Effendi, in token of a reconciliation having taken place between them; and that some whisperers had reported to the dowager-sultaness, that the mufti had let fall some expressions respecting a change in the throne. The valide forwarded the mufti's admonitory letter to the sultan with this laconic note: "Come back instantly, my lion; they talk of dethroning you." Murad was hunting near Brusa, when he received this note by a courier; the purport of which in its effects upon his mind can be compared only to fire falling upon gunpowder. Without acquainting a single individual with his intention, and without returning back to the town, he rode off with the utmost speed, accompanied by only a bostanjibashi, and never dismounted till he reached Ssamanlü, where he rested a few hours. As no galleys were at hand, he next day threw himself into a small skiff at Katirlü; and, in spite of a heavy storm, effected a landing, and made straight for Gebise. On the evening of the third day after the receipt of the letter, the sultan arrived at the palace at Scutari, and despatched the bostanjibashi, on the spot, with

commands to put the mufti and his son, the judge of Constantinople, on shipboard, for the isle of Cyprus. The officer discharged his commission that same night, and received an additional command the next morning to pursue the exiles, and, in case of finding them beyond the boundary line of the capital, he was not to pursue them any farther; but if he fell in with them within that distance, he was to put them both to death; a sanguinary mandate this, issued against the highest dignitaries of the law, totally unprecedented in the annals of the empire, and attributable only to Murad's tyrannical spirit and personal revenge. He had neither forgotten nor pardoned the circumstance of the Mufti Achisade having dared to become bail jointly with the grand vezír Rejeb for the lives of the two princes, on the day when the troops rebelled, and threatened the subversion of the throne. This was a crime which, in Murad's eyes, amounted to treason. Fortunately, the mufti's son had gained the main sea; but the vessel with the mufti on board, owing to a contrary wind, had been driven ashore in the part near where St. Stephen's church formerly stood. Here the bostanjibashi found him. At the same time, the sultan was riding out in this direction near the gate of the seven towers along the sea-bank, and happened to come up to the spot at the very moment. He beckoned with his hand to the bostanjibashi to execute the death-warrant; upon which the officer and his men stowed the deposed mufti upon a straw-cart, and carried him through

Aia Stephano to the village of Calabria on the sea-coast; where, having taken him out of the cart at the house of a janissary, they murdered him, and buried his corpse in the sand-bank. The tomb which he had erected for himself at Constantinople remained empty,—a silent but expressive testimony of the uncertainty of the place of death, and even of burial for the Sheikhs of Islam. Achisade is the first mufti who fell by the hands of the executioner since the foundation of the Turkish monarchy; and his innocence, combined with his rank as the chief law-functionary of the realm, casts the deepest stain upon the annals of Osman tyranny, inferior only to the regicide of Sultan Osman.

Engaged as Murad was, in thus continually glutting his private revenge by the murderous execution of his officers, he did not forget what he owed to Fachreddin Maanoghli, the prince of the 1634.
Druses; during whose administration the district of Mount Lebanon had been for thirty years in a state of insurrection. Subsequently to the rebellion of Janbulad, and the alliance which he had contracted with the grand duke of Tuscany, Fachreddin had repaired in person to Florence, and had more closely knit together the ties of political friendship by a familiar acquaintance with European manners and customs. Ever since that period, the amyr's power in the plain of Baalbec, and the mountain-range of Anti-Libanus, had been always deriving increased security from two circumstances highly conducive to it,—that is, the Persian war and the rebellions at Constantinople. Fachreddin

had named his son Ali to the succession; he himself resided at Deir-ol-Kamr (monastery) near Mount Lebanon. The hostility which he had displayed towards the spáhís, who were sent by the grand vezír, Chosrew Páshá, to take up their winter-quarters in Syria, (for he cut most of them to pieces) renewed the recollection of former offences, and exceedingly exasperated Murad. The Kapudan Páshá, with a fleet of forty ships, and the Governor of Damascus, were ordered to proceed for the suppression of this rebellion. The kiaja of the latter, being despatched with a few troops, was beaten at Misereb and taken prisoner; but the command being then given to the Amyr-ul-Hadj, he advanced at the head of ten thousand rank and file against Amyr Ali, Fachreddin's son, whose troops were totally defeated, while his own head was cut off by a janissary. Ahmed Páshá, mortified at the loss of his kiaja, who was left dead on the field in this battle, marched in person against Fachreddin, and defeated him at Ssafed, where the sons of Shehab suffered. Fachreddin fled with his treasures to the inaccessible mountain-caverns of Shouf, where Ahmed besieged him. In order to make a road thither, Ahmed Páshá ordered the rocks, which were composed of limestone, to be heated with fire, and then a quantity of vinegar to be poured upon them, for the purpose of softening them, and thereby rendering them more easy to be penetrated by the mattock. In this way he succeeded in making holes through the rocks; and, by means of burning brushwood, he so effectually filled all the pits and

cavities with smoke, that Fachreddin was at last compelled to surrender at discretion. Ahmed Páshá took possession of his treasures, but spared his life; and despatched him, accompanied by his two sons Hussyn and Mesud, to Constantinople with news of the victory. After being presented to the sultan, Fachreddin himself was placed in close confinement; but his two sons were enrolled among the pages of the seraglio.

To the existing prohibitions against the use of coffee and tobacco, was shortly after added the revival of an old law forbidding the use of wines; and the consequence of infringing it was certain death. Indeed Murad's cruelty raged with insatiate fury, alike implacable in peace as in war; and knowing no change either in the European capital or at Constantinople. His government was one melancholy uniformity of strangulation and butchery, however varied might be the ostensible or secret causes of his executions. The existence of a plot or no plot, design or accident, guilt or innocence, power or weakness, were all equally criminal, and equally furnished victims for the bowstring and the sword. At one moment individuals were doomed to these violent deaths, at other times whole numbers at once; the sultan's order was issued with the rapidity of a flash of lightning, and desolating as the plague. Besides many of less illustrious name, who perished about this time, after Murad's return from Europe to Constantinople, Abasa was unexpectedly sacrificed to the tyrant's caprice. Ever since the expedition against June, 1635.

Poland in 1633, Abasa had enjoyed the highest distinction at court. Murad was so delighted with the society of his Bosnian Páshá, who, though an unpolished man, was a gallant high-spirited soldier, that he could neither take an airing, nor mount his horse, nor enjoy his riding exercise, without him. The cut of the clothes, the way of fastening on the sabre, the twist of the shawl, were all copied from Abasa by the sultan, and forthwith adopted by the whole court; so that to please, caftans, turbans, harness, arms, must be all regulated by Abasa's taste. He exclusively set the fashion in a manner which no one had ever done before, and to which no one since has ever made any pretensions. His plan for the campaign against Persia particularly charmed the sultan. "My padisháh," said he, "let the army advance as usual towards Erzerûm. With three thousand cavalry I would cross over into Shirvan by way of Astrachan and Derbend, and so conquer all Iran for you in a single campaign." But in proportion as such projects were agreeable to the sultan's fancy, the less acceptable were they to the Vesír Kaimakam, Beiram Páshá, to the mufti, Jahja Efendi, and to the favourite Mustafa. The latter had sworn to be personally revenged on Abasa, because in his páshálik of Bosnia he had not indeed put to death Mustafa's father to possess himself of his wealth; but he had in every possible shape harassed him by his oppressions. This triumvirate, ruling at that time with immense influence, under the protection of the sword, which was never sheathed,

left nothing untried which might rouse Murad's malign and jealous temper against Abasa. The sultan's suspicion was soon manifested in a way which left no room to doubt that it was the forerunner of his violent displeasure. One day, when Murad, as usual, rode out of the city at the cannon-gate, and Abasa advanced to meet him at the Egri-capu gate, Abasa would have dismounted to kiss the imperial stirrup. Murad ordered him to keep his seat as usual, suddenly calling out to an officer of the household-guards who was riding at some little distance, "Bostanji! hither this moment." The man hastened instantly to the spot. Upon this Murad proceeded; "Order Abasa to dismount, and take his sabre from him." Abasa immediately alighted from his horse, and surrendered his sword. "Are not you aware," said the Bostanji to him, "that it is contrary to etiquette to ride near the padishâh with your sword on?" Abasa was alarmed at the occurrence, and privately shipped off to Scutari from forty to fifty horses, with the intention of escaping secretly into Asia. He kept pacing up and down all night long in a lonely spot, as he was in the habit of doing whenever he meditated the execution of any great plan, dressed in his night-gown, without even composing himself to sleep; trilling the beads of his rosary between his fingers. When information of this was brought to the sultan, it naturally increased the suspicion which had been engendered and fostered in his bosom; and the finishing stroke was given by the quarrel of the Armenians and

Greeks about the possession of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The Armenians had presented Abasa with twenty thousand piastres, on condition that he would espouse their interest in the business. Murad, who was well-informed of this circumstance also, sent for Abasa, and asked him, how much the Armenians had given him to secure his services in their behalf. Abasa with hesitation and reluctance admitted, that he had received twelve thousand. This deliberate falsehood filled up the measure of Murad's wrath. On the day, when the cause of the Armenians and Greeks was to be decided in the divan by the Vesír Kaimakam, Beiram, and the Kadiaskers, Murad set out, before the morning dawned, from the castle of Anatoli, where he had slept at the residence of the Bostanji-bashi, Duje, who on this occasion was his only attendant, crossed over in a galley to the castle of Romeili, and directed his way, accompanied by the Bostanji, to the city. Before sunrise he had reached the front court of Aja Sophia; here he commanded Duje to repair in disguise to the divan, and to carry an order to the vezír, to cut off the heads of all the Armenians who appeared in this cause of theirs. Duje took off the dress of a Romeilian soldier whom he met, put the soldier into custody, and made him on the spot sit down and write a petition about a fief. Thence he repaired to the divan in the soldier's clothes, ready with the petition for presentation. Beiram Páshá, who, as soon as he saw him, recognised the disguised Bostanji-bashi, affected, how-

ever, not to know him, and received the petition, which he handed to the master of requests. While the latter was reading it, the páshá asked in the language of the mutes of the seraglio by an unobserved side-glance, "What's the matter?" Duje pressed his teeth together, as much as to say, "A wrathful sentence." Beiram then called him to him, and he whispered into the kaimakam's ear his bloody commission. He imparted the order to the kadiaskers, who were horror-struck at the intelligence. The kaimakam gave an immediate command to the executioners and commissary of police to decapitate several of the Armenians who had crowded in great numbers to the divan; a command which was executed on the spot. Meantime Murad having arrived at the seraglio, instantly commanded Abasa to be summoned, and that he should be committed to close custody in the garden in a room adjoining the aviary. He then committed to Duje the warrant for his execution, which the Bostanji-bashi despatched to Abasa by one of his men. "It is the will of my padisháh," said the chivalrous avenger of the blood of Osman, who then performed his dying-devotions, consigning his soul to his Maker, and his person as submissively to the executioner. On the following day the corpse was washed and deposited in the coffin, with the turban worn by the vezírs on state occasions. The mufti, the vezírs, and all the highest personages, attended the funeral procession. The funeral solemnity took place in the fore-court of Sultan Bāyezyd's mosque; the coffin was laid

Y. of H. 1044. 24th Aug. 1634.

in the vault of the old grand vezír Murad, the Well-digger, and placed by his side. Such was the way in which Murad recompensed the avenger of his brother's blood, the breaker of the janissaries, the intrepid champion against Persia and Poland; tyrannically shattering to pieces by a violent death the instrument which had quelled one insurrection against his government by raising another in his favour.

CHAPTER XIV.

MURAD THE FOURTH (CONCLUDED).

Murad's march to Erzerûm—Amyr of the Druses executed—March from Erzerûm to Revan, which, after a brave Resistance, surrenders—Murad sends Orders for the Murder of two of his Brothers—March to Tabríz—Demolition of the Place—Sultan returns to Diarbeker, and thence to Constantinople—Revan recovered by the Persians—Osman Troops defeated by the Persians near Mihreban—Grand Vezír deposed—Arrival of Persian Ambassador at Constantinople—His Imprisonment—The Sultan proceeds with the Army to Ilghun, on his Way to Baghdád—From Ilghun to Birejik—The Sultan's capricious Poisoning of his Physician at Nisib—March from Roha to Baghdád—Ambassador from India comes to Mossul with Presents—Siege of Baghdád—Operations on the other Side of the Tigris—The City taken by Storm—Murad's favourable Reception of the Persian Governor of Baghdád—Proclamation issued to Osman Soldiery to respect the Lives and Property of the Inhabitants—Universal Massacre of all the Persians—Comparison of this Butchery with those of other Conquerors—Persian Ambassador released—Sheikh of Rhumia executed—Peace with Persia—Execution of an Alchemist—Murad's Death and Character.

Murad's march to Erzerûm.

MURAD, who had now been seated on the throne twelve years, and, during that period, had never travelled farther than Adrianople and Brusa, formed the resolution of personally conducting the war against Persia, for the recovery of the fortresses which had been lost to the Osmans on the eastern

frontier. From this measure he had been hitherto diverted, since the failure of Chosrew, both by the war in Poland, and by rebellions in Arabia and Syria. But, in the month of February, 1635, his tent was ordered to be prepared for his reception at Scutari, whither he intended to proceed. The whole population of Constantinople, divided into fifty troops, and these again subdivided into five hundred companies, were drawn up to grace the sultan's departure. This military review, however, was subservient to a higher purpose than that of mere parade. It was to enable Murad to ascertain precisely the numerical force of the population of the city, that he might form a judgment as to the reinforcements which he might calculate upon raising from the capital in case of emergency. The regulation of bodies-corporate, of older date than the Osman empire, is ascribed to the flourishing time of the chalifate, when the idea of religious union was transferred from the order of monks to the guilds or incorporated societies, and is traced by tradition up to the prophet, and his four first companions and successors. Every guild had a prophet or saint for its patron; and the leather apron, the use of which is derived from the white silk apron which Gabriel honoured the prophet with in his nightly travel through the seven heavens, is as sacred a symbol of union to the guilds and corporate bodies as the belt and carpet to the brotherhoods and orders. Murad set out from Constantinople, accompanied by the corps of the guilds and those of the life-guards, by the vezírs

Y. of H. 1044. A.D. 1635. February.

and Ulema, by the agas of the outer and inner court.

On the very same day that the sultan's tent was pitched at Scutari, the Amyr of the Druses, with his two sons, Mesud and Hussyn, were brought prisoners to Constantinople; he himself was thrown into prison, and his two sons were placed among the pages in the seraglio of Galata. When the sultan had actually commenced his march, the kaimakam, Beiram Páshá, received orders by a kapidjibashi to bring matters to a close with the Amyr of the Druses and his eldest son. The reason was, that news had arrived from Syria of Melhem, the grandson of Fachreddin, having defeated Ahmed, the Páshá of Damascus, and plundered the cities of Saida, Beirut, Akka, and Tyre. The head of Fachreddin was fixed on a lance in front of the seraglio, with the inscription, "This is the head of the rebel Fachreddin;" his elder son, Mesud, was strangled and thrown into the sea, and his brother Hussyn taken from the seraglio of Galata to serve in a more menial capacity in that at Constantinople.

Amyr of the Druses executed.

On the tenth day after the tent of the sultan had been erected at Scutari, he himself set forward about the end of March. Strict orders were issued that no janissary should presume to remain behind and leave his post, either as an invalid (oturak), or as being exempt from further service (kuridji), without the sultan's knowledge. The first violation of this order, though in the person of one of the most meritorious and oldest soldiers, was punished

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with death, as soon as the circumstance became known to Murad. This happened at Kasiklüderbend, the Pass of Piles, upon the road between Nicomedia and Nicæa; and from this place a series of executions commenced, which continued through the whole line of march. All the halting places were so many places of skulls, and from every print of the foot of Murad's horse issued a stream of blood. At Sidi Ghasi, a former ringleader of rebels was summoned and executed; and even his sons, though men of inoffensive conduct, and totally unconcerned in their father's rebellion, were also cited to appear. One of them made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Bosojuk, and as soon as he saw the sultan at a distance, endeavoured to excite his compassion by weeping; but Murad immediately gave the signal to the executioner, by opening and shutting two of his fingers, like a pair of shears; so that the two brothers were consigned to their fate. At Bardakli the former Beglerbeg of Karaman, who was then the Sandjak of Magnesia, Hasan Páshá, joined the camp with two thousand soldiers, conspicuous for their order and the beauty of their equipments. As he had failed to manifest that promptitude which was necessary for the suppression of some recent commotions at Magnesia, Murad no sooner saw him, than he exclaimed, "Ah! coward, you could not disperse and kill a few rebels, and now you make this magnificent display in the field. Off with his head!" The order was no sooner given than executed on the spot. Scarcely had

the army arrived beyond Eskisheher in the direction of Ilghun, when the Beglerbeg of Karaman, Ali Páshá, appeared; he was now to suffer capitally at Arkidkani for having formerly taken part in the tumult. At Bulawadin the son of Gurji Muhammed Páshá, Hamidbeg, and the son of Noghai Páshá, the Beg of Aidin, were destined to share the same fate, which, however, was averted by the intercession of Murad's confidential and intimate associates; but at Ishakli the Judge of Karaaghaj, upon mere suspicion of negligence, was added to the number of those already put to death. One station before reaching Konia, Murad took the lead, and anticipated the arrival of the army by proceeding thither before it. His coming was the death warrant for Araboghli Mustafa, who had been confined a prisoner with many others in the castle of Konia; their corpses were thrown under the horses' hoofs by way of welcoming the sultan. Murad visited the castle of Konia, called Ahmedek, which had been founded by Sultan Alaeddin Keikawus, the son of Keichosrew the Seljukian, and afterwards the first Mewlewi cloister of the kingdom, founded close to the grave of the Mewlana Jelaleddin of Rûm, the great mystic poet. Being entertained by the sheikh of the cloister with a frugal and moderate repast, Murad endowed the cloister with fresh revenues; amongst others the waiwode of Soghla was to pay two thousand piastres yearly for the church. Ismail Aga was sent as commissary to Begsheher to take off the head of Kodja Arslan Aga, the kiaja, the son of

Noghai Páshá; and the Spáhí Gurdji Osman was condemned to death, as an accomplice in the murder of Sultan Osman. On the Trumpeter-Meadow, Nakaresen-chairi, near Bor, the feudal envoy Jewherisade was deprived of life for smoking a tobacco-pipe.* At Kaissarije the Judge Gökderelisade received a severe reprimand for his dilatoriness in the supply of provisions; and, upon expressing himself in somewhat disrespectful terms, paid the penalty of his rashness by death; a punishment which was inflicted deservedly on Keskinli Ali Páshá, the sandjak of Begsheher, as the recompense of his exactions and his cruelties. At Develikarahissar Murad was riding in a carriage, when all on a sudden a wild buck sprung up before it; the sultan was on horseback in a moment, rode full gallop after the buck, and brought it completely to the ground with a blow of his stick. "God's protection is over you!" cried the army unanimously in astonishment at his giant strength, which indeed was equal to that of the strongest wrestler. He used often to lift up the vezír, Musa Páshá, by the belt, who was one of the largest and strongest men in the army, and hold him aloft for some time in the air. As the amazing terror, which he inspired in the soldiery from his cruelty, was great, so in proportion also was their confidence and affection, which he had entirely gained
23 May, 1635. by living as they did, and by sharing with them the hardships of the campaign. His saddle for

* Literally, "for blowing out of a tobacco-pipe, the light of life was blown out of him."

many months served him as a pillow, and he used no other blanket than the covering of his horse. At Sívás the favourite Salihdár was congratulated upon being advanced to the dignity of second vezír; a novelty, because never till this time had the sword-bearer of the sultan united this dignity with that of a vezír. A bostanji, who had ventured to forge the imperial sign-manual, and to lay some beglerbegs and begs under contribution by means of the false instrument, was disgraced. Here, too, Hussyn Aga, the son of Nassuh Páshá, named to the beglerbegship of Buda, received, together with his own appointment, the death-warrant of his predecessor Jaafer Páshá, whose head he afterwards sent from Belgrade to the imperial stirrup. An order was also transmitted to Konia for the execution of the Judge Shehla Muhammed Effendi, who was hanged in the market-place. After a halt of fourteen days at Sívás, the army marched forwards to Erzerûm. In the plain of Jasin a general review took place, accompanied by military exercises, in which the sultan himself took a part. From this place an order was issued to put to death the Judge of Smyrna, Tewfikisade, which had been obtained by his enemy Mustafa Páshá, who filled the post of grand vezír in the imperial camp, as Beiram Páshá at Constantinople did that of Kaimakam.

The grand vezír Muhammed, who had passed the winter at Haleb, had broken up from that place at the same time that the imperial camp broke up from Scutari, and had passed the river

Murad, which was now very much swollen, by a bridge. At the end of May the arch-treasurer, Shahinaga (the last ambassador to Poland), brought him a commission from the sultan, charging him with the execution of Chalil Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Erzerûm. This fatal instrument had been procured by the kaimakam of the camp, Murtesa Páshá, to revenge the quarrel which had taken place the year before between him and Chalil Páshá. The latter had at that time been named as serdar against Persia, being the Viceroy of Erzerûm, and Murtesa Páshá had received orders to remain at Diarbeker. Murtesa Páshá, boasting of his powerful influence from his marriage with the sultaness, and his partisans at Constantinople, had suppressed the order, which he had received, and published to the army a forged commission, conferring the supreme command on himself, and which document had found its way as a real one to Constantinople. When the forces of Chalil and Murtesa took the field, each claimed the rank of commander-in-chief; and, during the battle, a messenger from Constantinople arrived with the confirmation of Murtesa's appointment. Chalil detained the messenger till after the issue of the battle, and then sent an official despatch of the victory, complaining at the same time of Murtesa's having arrogated to himself the high dignity of serdar by means of a fabricated document. Murad's anger at receiving this intelligence would certainly have cost Murtesa his head, but for the powerful interference of his friends. They pacified the

sultan, and when Murtesa afterwards held the office of kaimakam in the camp, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded him of crushing his rival. The grand vezír charged with the execution of the death-warrant came to Erzerûm, whither Chalil went to meet him, without the slightest suspicion of danger. When he was admitted to the grand vezír's private room for the purpose, as he supposed, of some confidential communication, the grand vezír's attendants threw the noose round his neck and strangled him. The high chamberlain confiscated his effects, and brought them with his head to the sultan. The grand vezír sent his own lieutenant, and the lieutenant of the janissaries, to the imperial camp, and went forward with the generals to Beybúrd, in order to give out the rations there to the soldiery. The price of a kilo of barley was twenty aspers, and that of a kilo of flour thirty; two pecks of flour and five of barley were given to each man. Three days after, June, 1635. he went to Sinorowa to meet the sultan; and after having been introduced into the tent of the Salihdar Páshá, by the Kapudan Páshá and the high chamberlain, he returned back to Beybúrd, and thence proceeded to Erzerûm. When the sultan was come to Ilidje, that is, the warm baths in front of Erzerûm, a throne was erected in front of his tent, before which the great officers of the divan, as well as the generals of the troops, and the beglerbegs and begs, passed in regular order, paying their respects to the sultan. When it came to the grand vezír's turn, he approached with the

holy standards of the prophet, which the sultan advanced to meet at the distance of four or five steps, and held in his own hand for some time; he then delivered them to one of the agas of the interior, and resumed his seat upon the throne; after which the grand vezír kissed the sultan's foot, and remained some time prostrate on the ground. Upon rising, the sultan shook hands with him; the other officers of state then paid their respects to the sultan and retired. On the following day the
July 2, 1635. sultan made his formal entry into Erzerûm. All the way from Ilidje to Erzerûm, a distance of two hours, the road was lined on both sides with janissaries and spáhís, behind whom were drawn up the beglerbegs and begs with the troops of their respective districts. On the following morning, a distribution of the usual gratuity took place, which had been hitherto customary, whenever the sultan took the field, of one thousand aspers per man; but the coinage was so deteriorated, that two aspers were worth no more than one. The day after the grand vezír offered his present of congratulation upon the sultan's arrival, consisting of fifty purses of gold, four horses richly caparisoned, thirty-four led horses, thirty-five packets of linen and rich stuffs, and two daggers set with jewels. The next day the new viceroy of Erzerûm, Ahmed Páshá, kissed hands; and Ali Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Sívás, was introduced in chains, and delivered over to the executioner as a lesson and example to the new viceroy upon his entering on his appointment.

The officer of the janissaries, who supplied the

troops with water, was drowned in the waves of forgetfulness; and Ali Páshá of Behesni, who had shed so much blood, spilt his own under the hands of the executioner. The new viceroy of Erzerûm, who was given to understand that he might purchase of the Salihdar Páshá his former viceroyalty of Damascus, which had been given to the Salihdar for the sum of twenty thousand ducats, felt exceedingly happy in being allowed to purchase at this price his removal from the dangerous atmosphere of the imperial camp. The sultan now broke up from Erzerûm in the direction of Revân; and, on the seventh day after, the army lay encamped before Kars. There the army halted two days; during which time orders were issued for every beglerbeg to provide four thousand basket-rods and twenty piles. On the following day the army encamped on the other side of the river, in front of Kars; but because the soldiers were obliged to recross the river the next day, this arrangement of the march soon cost the quarter-master-general his life. At the pass Mesihije, the sultan alighted under a temporary awning, till his tent was pitched; a ceremony which was performed with all possible pomp—the whole of the great officers of state forming a circle on horseback round the sultan, while behind them were the generals of the six divisions, the standard-guards with their corps, and the rest of the army on the heights parading, amidst the continued sound of martial music, all the time that the tent was being erected. The day after, presents came from Guriel. At Uch-

July 10, 1635. March from Erzerûm to Revân.

Kilise reeds were split for gabions. Ten days after, the army set forward from Gökkünbed, and passed under Revân amidst the cannon of the fortress. A violent wind and quantities of dust prevented the army from descrying the fort, as well as the garrison from seeing the Osman troops. When they approached very near the fortress, the guide, who rode before the sultan, said, "My padishâh, we are now before Revân, but cannot see it for the dust. Halt here till the army comes up." "Coward!" replied Murad, "what are you afraid of? A man can die but once; and who is there that is not predestined to die?" At this moment a gust of wind dispersed the clouds of dust; the cannons of the fort began to play, and the balls flew over the heads of the archers who composed the life-guards, and the sumpter-horses; so that the sultan retired to the rear, and proceeded on foot through the Sengi, and encamped on the imperial hill (Chunkardepe). Shovels, hoes, powder, and ball, were distributed to the troops; and the next night the trenches were opened by moonlight. Some hundred janissaries, who had been wounded, received a compensation of thirty piastres per man, and the trenches were completed by sunrise.

Conquest of Revân.

The circumference of Revân is of no greater extent than that of the old seraglio at Constantinople; so that the balls of the besieging army often flew over the place. Its defence was intrusted to the Persian Emirgune, as commandant, who, after his father's death, had been put into the hereditary possession of the government of Arran;

and to strengthen his hands, the sháh had ordered the Amyr Fettah, from his having so bravely defended Baghdád against the Osmans, to join him, at the head of twelve thousand rank and file from Mázinderán, for the defence of the fort. The Kapudan Páshá Hussyn, and Ahmed Páshá, the viceroy of Damascus, bombarded the fort from the heights of Gofejidepe. The guard of the river-bank on the north side of the fortress was intrusted to the Beglerbegs of Erzerûm and Childir. Opposite to them were posted the troops of Romeili; further was the grand vezír at the head of the janissaries along the bank on the other side; next came the Sagarjibashi on the bank on this side; while the troops of Anadoli formed the rear.

Murtesa Páshá, with the troops of Sívás, Meroesh, and Adana, had the reserve towards Toprak Kalaasi. On the seventh day of the siege, the serdar crossed the river to the defile which was situated on the other side of the hill Gofeji, in order to occupy the bridge. The pass of the rock, in which direction they were obliged to go to procure water for the castle, was defended by a wall. Murad addressed every one of his generals separately by name. "Ahmed Páshá," said he to the governor of Erzerûm, "it signifies nothing that you took the rebel Elias, nor that you dragged the Amyr of the Druses from his lurking-place; this is the day on which you must shew your valour." "Son of the steel soul," said he to Janbuladsade, "distinguish yourself in my presence to-day, and harden your soul to steel in reality, to make good

August 4, 1635.

your claim to the vezírship." Turning to Murtesa Páshá, he said, " Murtesa Páshá, take you care that the young guard entrusted to your command do not disgrace themselves, and disappoint my expectations. Shew that you are aware it is the time of actual service." To the aga of the janissaries he said: " Shau Aga, it is no proof of valour to go your rounds at Constantinople, and cudgel drunkards; here is the spot for you, where you may exhibit proofs of courage. I shall see how you will exert yourself with my janissaries in the trenches." To the common soldiers he spoke with an eloquence seconded by the more effectual argument of presents. Round him lay open purses of gold and silver; to those who brought in the heads of the enemy, he gave thirty or forty piastres per head; to those who lost their horses, fifty ducats each; to every wounded soldier, twenty-five piastres; to each of those who brought in the wounded, ten; to those who collected and brought in the enemy's balls, each a ducat. " Slack not your hand, my wolves; now is the time for my falcons to take their highest flight," said he, with a gracious smile; at the same time giving admirable effect to his words by his liberal presents. The pages stood round him with sugared sherbet, in order to supply drink to those who brought in heads, just as if they had been presents from heaven. The medical staff stood in rows to render all possible help to the wounded. The city and its walls continued to be incessantly battered for one whole week; when, the great tower having been thrown down, and

a wide breach effected by the cannon, a messenger came from Tahmasp Kulikhan, requesting an armistice for eight days, at the expiration of which they would be ready to deliver up the fortress. Murad in a rage commanded the envoy to be put to death for daring to bring such a proposal; and was scarcely induced to spare his life at the intercession of the grand vezír. The breach was filled up by the besieged, and the assailants made preparations for storming the place. On the following morning, Murad Aga, the kiaja of Emirgune, came to Ahmed Páshá, who carried him to the grand vezír, by whom he was introduced to the sultan. An extraordinary divan was held, and the sultan asked the envoy sarcastically: "Why they had not surrendered the fort?" Murad Aga, an adroit Persian, and at heart a Sunni, made the winning and graceful apology, "Merely that the padisháh's military fame may sound in the sháh's ears, and to the furthest boundaries of Persia, have we emmets of a day ventured to withstand the Suleiman of his age." "If you would be pardoned," exclaimed Murad, "you must surrender the fort immediately." On the following morning the grand vezír went to the sultan to adjust the terms of the capitulation. The gates of Reván were thrown open, and Khan Emirgune rode through two ranks of troops, who were drawn up seven-deep on each side, from the gate of the fortress to the sultan's tent; he was followed by Tahmasp Kulikhan, the general of the twelve thousand Mázinderán infantry, accompanied by Fettah Amyr, with their sabres hanging round

their necks. "I give you what belongs to you," said Murad to Emirgune; at the same time presenting him with three robes of honour, and three horse-tails, a plume of herons' feathers set with jewels, a dagger and sabre, with the title of Jusuf Páshá. He then proceeded, "How happens it that your sháh has kept himself concealed like a woman all the four months that I have been in the field?" "My padisháh," answered the new páshá, "because your sword is sharp, and your horse noble. How should the sháh withstand the Lord of the Age?" One thousand five hundred rank and file, composing Mir Fettah's own division, were permitted to march out free, with his baggage and four wives; and in the same way his son, with two thousand men carrying their arms. Emirgune delivered in an inventory of all the stores and treasures which had been hoarded up in the magazines for thirty years. The janissaries took possession of the fort. Emirgune, now Jusuf Páshá, held, with the dignity of vezír, the viceroyalty of Haleb; and his kiaja, Murad, that of Tripolis; though both of them sent commissioners to administer their respective governments. Though Emirgune had evidently by his treachery been the cause of the surrender of the fort, yet the greater part of the Osmans found fault with the Persians being allowed free egress with arms in their hands; and the sultan was even advised to give orders for slaughtering them. Murad declined acting upon this advice; but when he heard that on their departure they stole the horses and killed the people, he

despatched after them the Páshás of Damascus and Karaman, who encountered them in a mountain-pass, but returned defeated. On the Friday after the conquest, the high chamberlain Salihaga, and the favourite Beshiraga were sent to Constantinople with the joyful intelligence of the conquest, and orders for illuminations in the capital for seven successive days. Besides the public expresses with which they were commissioned, they were the bearers of private instructions, conveyed in the sultan's own handwriting, to the Kaimakam, Beiram Páshá, and to the Bostanjibashi, Duje, requiring them, during the public rejoicings in honour of the victory, to put his brothers Bāyezyd and Suleiman to death. The tyrant had neither forgiven nor forgotten that they were summoned on that memorable day of rebellion and mutiny among the soldiery, when the mufti and grand vezír were compelled to guarantee to the soldiers that their lives should be spared. He had stifled his revenge till the moment when the full accomplishment of it would be attended with the less danger during his successful career of victory, calculating that all the regard and consideration which might otherwise be bestowed on his victims, would be diverted for a time, if not entirely suppressed, in the general exultation and triumph. But the tyrant was mistaken. A gloom and damp were thrown round the seven days' festivities of the capital, by the current report that the young princes were murdered; the heart-rending fate of the two promising youths drew tears even from their executioners; and the illuminations of

Aug. 10, 1635.

Murad sends orders for the murder of his brothers.

the city were eclipsed by the torches lighted up at the interment of their corpses.

Murad had no sooner despatched his orders for this barbarous murder, than he received, under a temporary awning erected in front of his tent, the congratulations of all his officers, military and civil, the band playing the first Sura of the Koran; and the prayer was read aloud for the reduction of all Persia. On the same day, which was Friday, prayers were offered up in the great mosque of Revân, in the sultan's name, which he attended in person; the place of his imam, Evlia Effendi, who had died shortly before, being supplied by the mufti. How could the tyrant pray, who had that very morning transmitted the bloody order for his brothers' murder? How could Heaven have regarded the prayers put up at Constantinople for the tyrant of Turks and Christians? From the mosque, Murad repaired on foot to the palace of Revân, accompanied by Emirgune; and, having stayed there till the afternoon, returned in the evening to his tent. On the following day the trenches were filled up, and a reparation of the walls commenced, a work which was completed within eight days; when Murad, leaving for the defence of the place a garrison of twelve thousand men well supplied with ammunition and provisions, set forward with the remainder of his army.

Aug. 20, 1635.

At Keshishchan, one station from Erzenjan, Emirgune, now Jusuf Páshá, who had by his gaiety insinuated himself into the good graces of Murad, and who was a man of dissolute, debauched habits,—

one day reproached his former kiaja, now Murad Páshá of Tripolis, for being the cause of the surrender of Revân, and actually cut him down with his sabre. Murad, who had so often in mere wantonness shed blood, spared Emirgune's life, and contented himself with banishing him and his son to Nicomedia, there to await further orders. The conqueror then crossed the Araxes, with a view to invest Tabríz. On the other side of the river, a thousand tents of the tribe Seinelli and others were broken up, for the sake of being transplanted to the depopulated parts of Erzenjan, Terjan, and Pasin. On the bank of the Baku, the gratifying intelligence reached Murad of the birth of a prince at Constantinople, named Alaeddin. All the cultivated lands, whether open or enclosed, were ravaged as far as Jewres, the walls of which place were destroyed; and though the gate of the city was of such singularly hard wood that an axe scarcely left an impression upon it, Murad, who was a giant in strength, which he screwed up to its highest pitch by regular exercise, threw a large beam, which it required several persons to bring to him, with such amazing force against the gate, that it was dashed to pieces. Hence the army marched beyond Kumla and Merend; where, as the fruits were ripe, the soldiers lived at their ease, but cut down or burnt all the trees. As the sultan was an invalid, he was carried to Khúi in a litter. Having proceeded beyond Ssofian to Haji Haram, news was brought from Ahmed Páshá that Rustem-khan had written to Murtesa, with an offer of ne-

gociation for peace through the Turkman Chisrbeg. Meantime the army took up its quarters in front of Tabríz, on the plain of Sahadabad, and the guard of the outposts was committed to Kuchuk Ahmed Páshá. The janissaries brought word that the sháh was distant only five marches off, and that the proposal of peace from Rustem-khan had been merely an artifice to gain time. On the following day Murad entered the city; visited the mosque of Sultan Usunhasan; and gave orders for the sháh's palace, with the city itself, to be destroyed. The beautiful gilded wainscoting of the houses, inlaid with lapis-lazuli, served the soldiers either for coverings to their tents or for fuel; and even Shenb Ghasan, the monument of Ghasan-khan, the Tatar emperor, where the grand vezír Ibrahim, in Sultan Suleiman's reign, had erected a castle, was nevertheless destroyed. Murad would have paid as little respect to the beautiful mosque of Sultan Usunhasan, had it not been for the representation of the mufti, that, as the building was not the work of heretics, but of orthodox Sunni, it ought to be excepted from the general havoc. The houses which were not pulled to pieces by the soldiers were given up to the flames, as well as the palaces and buildings of the gardens; so that the whole country presented a line of fire and smoke. Osman Aga, who had been sent to Rustem-khan with an answer to his proposal of peace, came back with a messenger, whose preliminary proposals, however, were rejected as inadmissible.

Y. of H. 1045. A.D. 1635.

Demolition of Tabríz.

But the winter was now approaching, and the

Osman army having by the most wanton havoc deprived itself of all hopes of subsistance, Murad resolved on retreating. He passed the castles of Gösekünan and Benui. In the march beyond Selmas, which at once presented extraordinary difficulties from its mountains, and was rendered equally dangerous by the Kurds, many men and beasts dropped on the road. The Persian boundary was passed. The route of the army lay across Elbak and Kujunkalaasi to Kotur, the siege of which, however, was prevented by the early setting in of the winter with snow. The viceroy of Wan was graciously received, and even presented with a hundred thousand aspers. Seventeen days after, the sultan entered Diarbeker, where he was detained fourteen days by a fit of the gout. At Sultan-mensil, Seinelkhan was honoured with the investiture of the hereditary jurisdiction of the tribe of Kurds called Hakari, and sent to Revân. The grand vezír accompanied the sultan two marches beyond Malatia, as far as Hasan Batrik, and, taking leave, set out for Diarbeker, whither he arrived at the end of November. At Nicomedia, Emirgune was again received into favour. Here, too, news was brought of the conquest of Achiska and all the circumjacent forts. Murad reached Scutari in a galley on the night of Christmas-day, and the next day made his triumphal entry into Constantinople; affecting the dress of the old heroes of the *Sháh Námeh*, the old Persian emperors, which no sultan had done before, and in which none has since imitated him. He was armed cap- Dec. 25, 1635.

à-piè, with a white bandeau round his golden helmet, like a diadem, while a black plume of herons' feathers rose above the white turban, forming an elegant contrast with the glittering of the white diamonds placed upon them.

Loss of Revân.

On the same day that Murad entered Constantinople, the Persian army also appeared before Revân. Four vezírs were immediately despatched into the provinces to raise troops. The grand vezír sent pressing orders to the Beglerbegs of Anadoli, Karaman, Sívás, Meroesh, Haleb, Damascus, Tripolis, Erzerûm, Childir, and Kars, all of whom had already gone into winter cantonments, to repair to the camp at Erzerûm, whither he himself was proceeding from Diarbeker. On his route he received intelligence that Revân was closely invested. Accordingly, he hastened forward with only about twenty or thirty attendants by way of Charput, Portok, Chemishgesek, Kumach, to Erzerûm and Hasan-kalaa, where, however, he found only some few troops mustered from Sívás and Trapezus. All the other districts together had not sent twenty men; and the nine janissaries, who happened to be at Hasan-kalaa, were inefficient, having their hands and feet frozen. Persian khans and sultans were posted at Selmas with six thousand men; several thousand Persians occupied Bāyezyd; and the brother of Rustem-khan was at Khúi with four thousand. At Constantinople the new aga of the janissaries exerted himself to the utmost to raise recruits; gibbets and hooks were erected at the gate Parmak, upon which some

paid the penalty of their refusal to enlist, by way of example to others. At the end of March the grand vezír called a council of war, at which the Viceroys of Sívás and Anadoli were present, and it was resolved to march straight to Kars. In the evening news arrived that Revân could scarcely hold out five days; that Murtesa Páshá, the governor, had died of his wounds; and that his kiaja had assumed the command. The páshás of Anadoli and Karaman set out to its relief; but, in the meantime, Revân, pressed on all sides, had surrendered. The corpse of the commandant was conveyed to Constantinople. The garrison had maintained a bold defence through a whole winter, which had proved unusually severe. Some of the páshás were detained by the sháh, and others dismissed without ransom. The grand vezír fell back to Erzerûm, and the Viceroy of Haleb remained at Hasan-kalaa. Murad received the intelligence of the occupation of Revân by the enemy with a serenity dictated by sound policy. He wrote a gracious letter to the grand vezír, fully excusing his conduct. But to make up for this instance of clemency, he poured all his wrath upon the secretary of the janissaries, Osman Effendi, who, in this pressing emergency, had enrolled among the janissaries boys and rabble without much distinction. To try his honesty, Murad had sent a confidential person to him, who was to offer him a hundred piastres if he would enrol him in the corps of janissaries. The secretary was half inclined to accede to the proposal; upon which Murad sent the same

Feb. 16, 1636.

messenger with the offer of a hundred ducats. The secretary could not resist this tempting bribe, and entered his name in the muster-roll with his own hand. Murad repaired to the gate of the aga of the janissaries, called for the order-book, and asked, "what man that was?" As the aga swore that he knew nothing of it, the secretary was summoned, and his name was immediately erased by the executioner from the catalogue of the living. The viceroy, Kara Ahmed Páshá, who had drawn upon himself the sultan's displeasure for having sent the Egyptian troops to the campaign of Revan too late, and without any augmentation of pay, was, upon his return from Egypt, given in custody to the Bostanji-bashi. His property was confiscated; and the rough and contumacious manner in which he answered some questions put to him respecting some further treasures, at once sealed his condemnation. The two judges of Haleb and Adrianople, who had been calumniated in the former year, as tobacco-smokers, and had been banished for the offence, the one to Cyprus, the other to Kumuljina, were received again into favour. The grand vezír was ordered to build seventeen large stables for from seventy to one hundred camels; the upper part of which was to compose the apartments for the camel-drivers, while the two wings were to form hay-lofts. Janbuladsade Mustafa Páshá had reached Erzerûm, and was honoured by the aga of the janissaries with an entertainment. It was his last, for the sultan's order for his death was immediately after executed. In spite of his nu-

merous services in the field; in spite of the hand of the sultaness, Aishe, whom Janbuladsade had married, when she was the widow of Hasan Páshá, Murad's inscrutable and implacable resentment could never pardon him for having formerly passed his word with the grand vezír Rejeb for the life of the favourite Musa; and, notwithstanding his pledge, subsequently giving him up to the fury of the rebels. A pretext for the full gratification of this revenge, which had been long meditated by Murad, was afforded by the complaints of Mustafa's having hanged many innocent persons in Karaman.

The Persian khan, Rustem, had now advanced towards Shehrsor and Kerkūk with twenty thousand men. The sháh, after having despatched the Khans of Shirwan and Genje, with four thousand Persians and ten thousand tomans of silver for the reparation of Reván, the command of which he bestowed on Kelb Alikhan, had retired back to Ispahan. At Mosul, Kuchuk Ahmed Páshá, the bold Albanese chieftain, who under the walls of Chocim had regularly exposed himself to the most imminent dangers, and had since performed essential services, as Woiwode of Mardin and the Turkmans, in putting down the dangerous rebel Elias Páshá, and in the reduction of the Turkman Haji Ahmedoghli Ahmedbeg at Kaissarije, as well as subduing the Amyr of the Druses in Syria, and who, for these important services, had received three horse-tails as vezír,—was maintaining a friendly correspondence with Ahmed Khan, the son of

Halaw Khan, of the tribe of Ejub, the beg of the territory of the Kurds of Ardelan. Sháh Abbas had contracted a family alliance with this khan, by bestowing on him his niece in marriage; but Sháh Ssaffi, whose principal object was to get rid of the begs of his grandfather, had contrived a plot for the ruin also of Ahmed Khan, which compelled him to throw himself into the arms of the Osmans. Ahmed Khan gave his friend Ahmed Páshá information that five Persian khans were in advance against the páshá, in order to revenge the loss of an elephant, which had been brought from India by Seinel Khan, and designed by him as a present to the sháh, but which had been taken away from Seinel Khan by Ahmed Páshá, who had sent it to Constantinople. Ahmed Khan, who at the suggestion of Ahmed Páshá had received from the Porte two robes of honour, two horse-tails, and a sabre set with jewels, as beglerbeg, united his forces with his friend Ahmed Páshá, and gave battle to Rustem Khan, who was slowly advancing with a superior force, in the plain of Mihreban. The battle continued two days and nights; at last the Osmans and Kurds were defeated by the Persians. Ahmed Páshá, weak from illness, could not keep his seat on horseback; he was compelled to dismount and sit down. He performed his ablutions, sighing for death, then mounted his horse again, and said, "I await the death of a martyr; I have no other wish in the world; do you take care of yourselves." The greater part immediately dispersed: he continued with his horse close to a

standard, which was firmly grasped by the standard-bearer, who kept leaning upon it. A Persian soldier cut down the standard-bearer and standard at a blow, while Ahmed Páshá fell from his horse. The Persians suddenly closed upon him, and cut him to pieces. His head was sent to the khan, who wrapt it in silk, and sent it to the sháh. The sháh, honouring the head of so brave a man, sent it back afterwards with the ambassador, Sarije Ibrahim, and it was interred at Damascus. His friend Ahmed Khan, who, upon being defeated, fell back upon Mosul, did not long survive the disgrace of the disaster. He died of a broken heart; his high spirit being unable to brook the mortification he had suffered; a worthy descendant of Salah-eddin, who was his great-grandfather. As the autumn was now far advanced in the rougher part of Armenia, the grand vezír broke up from Erzerûm in the beginning of October to go into winter cantonments at Diarbeker. Oct. 6, 1636.

Murad, like Tiberius, used to defer his revenge, in order that the seeds of that hate, which had been sown as it were in a late soil, might be quietly ripened in concealment, till they should burst forth in full vigour and maturity. More than fifteen months had elapsed when the grand vezír fell under his displeasure for the loss of Reván; a crime which, to all appearance, had been forgiven. The master of the horse went to Diarbeker to fetch the seals of office, and to seal up the exchequer chests. Beiram Páshá, who had hitherto borne the office of kaimakam, was invested with Grand vezír deposed.

the first dignity of the kingdom, while his predecessor, on his arrival at Constantinople, was put into confinement in a place adjoining the aviary of the garden, the usual place of imprisonment for deposed grand vezírs. The new grand vezír, Beiram Páshá, set out for Scutari with the standards, and from thence, three days after, broke up his encampment, and commenced his march in the direction of Haleb. The former grand vezír remained three months in the custody of the Sparrow House; but, after the confiscation of all his goods and property of every description to the crown, he was received again into favour, and appointed Viceroy of Oczakow, where the changes which had taken place in the khanship of the Crimea required more than ever the presence of a vigorous and able viceroy. Murad, however, gave full scope to his cruelties at Constantinople in the continued execution of many high officers of state, and was nearly on the point of violating the sacred law of nations, in a personal affront upon Makssud Khan, the Persian ambassador. He was the bearer of proposals of peace, accompanied by a magnificent present, consisting of eight Indian horses of great value, forty dromedaries, one hundred and fifty bags of the purest musk, with as many of the clearest amber, under the seal of the sháh, thirty bundles of the best furs, eight large carpets of cloth of gold and silver, besides several of silk; quantities of turbans of the finest muslin, shawls, gold and silver stuffs, and eight bows with shafts of the most exquisite workmanship. He was

quartered in the imperial palace at Daud Páshá, and, after some days, admitted to an audience; Aug. 1637 but, in consequence of his proposals being unacceptable, he was put into the closest confinement in the apartments which had been assigned to him. Every window and shutter was nailed up; every avenue through which the air could penetrate was made air-tight, so that the imperial palace was to the ambassador like the old Persian house of darkness. When, however, the newly appointed viceroy Muhammed set out for his government to Haleb, the ambassador found means of causing two of his people to fall into the train of the páshá, by disguising them as levende (volunteers). But they were discovered by the páshá, who, not content with seizing their despatches, sent them in chains to Constantinople. Murad's anger was extreme; and though he did not violate the rights of nations in the person of the ambassador himself, yet he did not spare his emissaries; for he ordered them to be hanged opposite their apartments with their noses and ears cut off; and the letters, of which they were to have been the bearers, were nailed upon their faces in the place of their noses, which had been cut off. Murad, who had told the ambassador at the audience, that he was resolved on an expedition to Baghdád, and that he would there give him his dismissal, made every preparation for conducting the campaign in person in the ensuing year. For the present year, the grand vezír, Beiram Páshá, had been ordered forward. He took the road north of Nicomedia, Nicæa, Ak-

Murad confines the Persian ambassador.

sheher, to Tokát. At Amásiáh, where the army halted, Beiram Páshá gave fifteen thousand piastres out of his own purse for forming a conduit, and afterwards five thousand piastres more, each at nine drachms of silver. He, moreover, founded a cloister of the dervishes of the sect of Mewlewi: for the daily maintenance of the sheikh of the order he assigned the sum of seventy-five aspers, and a proportional sum for that of the dervishes. At Nikde he ordered the khans, which were become dilapidated, to be repaired at his own expense, and some baths also to be built. At the beginning of the new year of the Hijrah, pay was distributed to the soldiers at Sívás, and the army broke up in the direction of Aintab. The grand vezír hastened to Birejik (Birtha), in order to inspect the two large cannons, for the casting of which the general of the artillery had received eighteen thousand ducats; he provided for the security of the frontiers of Kars and Erzerûm, and returned into winter quarters at Amásiáh, after having given out rations and disbanded the army. At Constantinople five thousand new janissaries were enrolled, and officers despatched to carry off Christian children. A few years previously balls had been cast in the provinces; consequently, Beiram Páshá, the viceroy of Bosnia, received orders to cast five thousand balls, each weighing twenty-five okka, that is, fifty-six pounds, and to furnish them for the siege of Baghdád. In the autumn and winter the plague raged with a cruel violence, surpassed only by that of Murad.

Y. of H. 1047. A.D. 1637.

While the former, without discrimination, struck down its victims, piling up corpses of old and young, rich and poor; the latter selected for his victim one of his two yet surviving brothers, Sultan Kasim, who, from his spirit and promising appearance, began to be looked upon by the jealous eye of the tyrant as a dangerous rival to the throne. Feb. 17, 1638.

On the seventh day after Murad had freed himself from all apprehension by the murder of his brother, the imperial standards were hoisted before the Jebechane and the arsenal, and then before the gates of the other páshás and generals who were appointed to join in the expedition. In the following week the imperial standards accompanied the royal tent to Scutari; and one month afterwards, on Thursday the first of April, Murad repaired in solemn state to Scutari. He rode a horse caparisoned in entire armour, he himself wearing an iron helmet bound round with a red shawl, the two ends of which fell loosely from his shoulders in the Arabian fashion, hanging like the ends of his bloody turban, which was folded round the iron. The army lay encamped at Scutari twenty-nine days; the Capudan Páshá and the mufti, whose presence in the last campaign had been found expedient, received orders to accompany it. The troops of Romeili were commanded by the viceroy Ali Páshá, the son of Arslan; those of Anadoli by the viceroy Ali Páshá of Wardar: the lieutenant of the Capudan Páshá was commanded to take his station with the fleet in the

Murad's march to Ilghun.

April 1. 1638.

Black Sea. The march from Scutari to Baghdád, measured at one hundred and ten stations, was commenced on Sunday the eighth of May: the fifth station was Nicomedia, where the molla and professors, who accompanied the sultan to this point, had an audience to take leave, and returned. Scarcely had Murad left Nicomedia, when a messenger brought word that the favourite sultaness, who accompanied him on this campaign, had given birth to a prince at Nicomedia. The messenger was kept in custody till the news was confirmed; and when word was brought back that the child was a girl, and not a boy, the first messenger was impaled as the reward of his intelligence. At the fourteenth station, which was Inoni, the grand vezír, Beiram Páshá, came from Konia in great haste to pay his respects, and alighted at the tent of the Salihdar Páshá. He was remarkable for the richness of his dress, consisting of sable fur ornamented with chains of gold, his horses richly caparisoned, and his dagger sparkling with diamonds. He was accompanied by twenty-four agas of his suite, all wearing caftans of distinction. At Eskisheher (the old Dorylæum), so famous in the history of the crusades, Murad visited the tomb of his maternal ancestor Sheikh Edebali, whose daughter was the beautiful Malchatun, the mother of Osman, the founder of the kingdom; and in the same way at Sidi Ghasi he went to see that of Sid Battal, the champion of chivalry, the first Arabic Cid, the staunch defender of Islam, against the Greeks in Asia Minor, and under the walls of Constanti-

nople. At the place of Kisilkilise (red church), which, from the khan of Chosrew Páshá built there, is known to this day under this name, Chiftelerli Osman Aga, the lieutenant of the Salihdar Páshá, and the first benefactor of this khan, entertained the sultan and grand vezír, and welcomed their arrival with presents. At the next station at Bulawadin (Philomedin or Dinias), the executions once more resumed their bloody course, on the site of the old Synnada, whose red-speckled marble an old tradition mentions as having derived its colour from the blood of Atys. Upon some complaints which were raised against the deputy of the Judge of Mihalij, he was here summoned, examined, and condemned to death. At Aksheher, the burial-place of Nassreddin Choja, the Osman jester, the army halted two days; the sultan visited the cloister, which lies to the south of the city, where there is an artificial waterfall. Inspired by the beautiful situation of the cloister, and the rushing of the water, Murad wrote four verses on the window, which he commanded the mufti to answer in a parallel piece, containing the same number of syllables and rhymes. The order was obeyed neatly enough in some stanzas written below the other before the evening. At the next station, Akidchairi, two pages, who had absconded with a large sum of ducats, were brought in and put to death. On the next day the army encamped at Ilghun; which, as well as Eskisheher, was called Abigerm, that is, warm water, till the time of the Seljukians. Sultan Ghajasseddin, the Seljukian,

the father of Sultan Alaeddin, had covered in the warm baths with cupolas, of which some were yet standing, but others had gone to decay. Murad diverted himself by going with his confidential friends to see the baths.

March from Ilghun to Birejik.

At Ilghun, an express arrived from the Judge of Eskisheher, announcing the disorders which menaced the country from a fanatic Dervish of Sakaria, who gave himself out as the Mehdi, that is, the forerunner of the day of judgment. The Salihdar's lieutenant was ordered to march against him with four begs, at the head of from four to five hundred men. This fanatic had assembled together a promiscuous rabble, who called themselves dervishes, from the districts of Sakaria, Modreni, and Koja Ili; and had even ventured an encounter with the Beglerbeg of Anadoli, in which the Sandjaks of Tirhala and Karahissar were left dead on the field. The kiaja, with some irregular troops (levende and ssarije), amounting all together to about four thousand men, having defeated and taken him prisoner, brought him, as well as twelve of his followers, to head-quarters at Konia for trial. To convince his credulous adherents that he was not invulnerable, as he pretended, strips were cut out of his skin, and afterwards all his fingers cut off one by one. He uttered no cry indicative of pain, but merely said to the executioner, "Don't hurry." To Murad's question, "Whether he really pretended to be Jesus?" he answered, "God forbid! I am a true Muhammedan, and wait for the Lord Jesus." On the day of encamping at

Konia, satisfaction was afforded the complainants against the Begs of Boli and Jenisheher, by their execution. Sheikh Bekir, the superior of the cloister of the Mewlewi at Konia, the general of the whole order in the Osman kingdom, whom Murad had honoured with particular marks of favour, when he arrived hither on his former campaign (to Revân), by assigning him amongst other things a yearly revenue of a hundred thousand aspers out of the revenues of Ssughla, for the maintenance of the kitchen, deservedly fell under the sultan's displeasure for his oppression of the subjects of Ssughla; besides, that instead of applying the money to its specific intended purpose, he had hoarded it up in his private coffers. Murad was on the point of ordering his execution; but, at the intercession of the mufti, and other powerful friends, was contented with banishing him. When the enemies and rivals of Bekri insinuated that he had not made a full disclosure of his concealed treasures, Murad, to ascertain the truth, questioned the sheikh's wife, an intelligent spirited woman. She answered with great tact and readiness, "My padishâh has seen every single article, except the sables, which he presented to the sheikh when marching to Revân. At the command of the illustrious personage who bestowed them, I will produce even them also." The sultan for shame would not recall his presents, and took his departure without another word. One day, while the army lay at Konia, the son of Fachreddin (from whose own mouth the historian Naima gives

the story) was standing in company with the commissary of police, Chosrew, on the outside of the camp, when the sultan passed by in disguise, and darted one of his frightful angry looks at them. In the evening, Chosrew was summoned by a messenger to the tent of the Kiaja Begtash. The unusual hour, and the fierce look which the sultan had thrown upon him in the morning, boded, as he imagined, no good. His conjectures were right; for an imperial warrant had committed the execution of the commissary of police to the aga of the janissaries, and the kiaja had undertaken to fulfil its purport. Chosrew had privately provided himself with a small sabre, before he repaired to the kiaja's tent. Upon entering, he found the messengers assembled; he gave them the usual salutation; which, however, was returned only by one or two. This token was sufficient. Chosrew, without losing his presence of mind, or waiting a single moment, drew his sabre, which was concealed under his clothes, cut down with it the chief messenger, whose duty it is to give the signal in cases of executions; and then fortunately effected his escape through the tent, before the astonished messengers, who took to their heels in all directions, could recover their recollection. He was indebted for his ultimate safety to the darkness of the night, and the assistance of a few confidential friends. The reason of Murad's sudden resolution for his death was, that he had formerly been the butler of the vezír, Rejeb, who had been put to death; and though more than six years had elapsed since the

rebellion which led to it, during all which time Murad had never seen this man, yet his inveterate hatred was immediately kindled at the sight of him, and was as speedily shewn in the order for his death. At the halting-station, Chakid-khan, the deposed Beg of Tripolis, a pupil of Kutshuk Ahmed Páshá (the conqueror of the Prince of the Druses), joined the army with his retinue. At the very moment of prostrating himself before the sultan, his head was struck off, in consequence of some complaints which had been made of his arbitrary conduct. Here the grand vezír entertained his master in the khan, which he had ordered to be built, and presented it to him. When Murad rode into Adnah, eight persons threw themselves into the water before his eyes from the walls of the fort. They adopted this mode of begging justice and protection against the beglerbeg of the place, who was thereupon deprived of his páshálik. Two galleys were riding at anchor in the harbour of Payas, laden with presents, which the Viceroy of Egypt had sent the sultan for the campaign. At Antioch, the bridge over the Orontes, where Murad was to pass, was crowded to excess with persons who came to see him. The sultan, from the notion, perhaps, that they too would leap into the water as petitioners, swam his horse over the river in another place, and those of his immediate officers and life-guards, whose duty it was to be about his person, followed him at the imminent risk of their lives; while the marshal of the palace, who had neglected to clear the road for the sultan, as he

ought, was punished in the evening with the basti-
July 26, 1638. nado. At Haleb, the fifty-fifth station, that is, half-way between Constantinople and Baghdád, the army halted sixteen days. Just beyond Merj Dabik, famous for the battle fought there between Selim the First and Ghawri the Sultan of Egypt, at the grave which is considered that of the prophet David, the Sandjak of Ochri found his own sepulchre: not only for appearing too late in the field, but also for some arbitrary proceedings which had previously marked his administration. The next station, Nisib, is remarkable for the peculiar way
Poisoning of Murad's physician. in which Murad put to death Amyr Chelebi, his physician in ordinary, by compelling him to eat in his presence a whole box of opium pills, which were found upon him. This circumstance was occasioned by the Salihdar Páshá, who, being the physician's enemy, because he had not attended to one of his recommendations in his official capacity, had represented him to the sultan as an opium-eater: he therefore bribed one of the physician's servants to depose that whenever he retired, under the pretext of performing the usual ablutions, it was in reality for the purpose of indulging his taste for opium. At first Murad would not credit the information of the salihdar; but when, on a certain occasion, the physician happened to withdraw as usual, the salihdar seized the opportunity of renewing his representations, upon which the sultan desired the other to produce the box forthwith out of his bosom, and asked him, "What it was?" "Only a little innocent opium," was the physician's

reply. "Well, then, eat some of it!" said Murad. After he had swallowed several pills, he would fain have begged off, saying, "My padishâh, that is enough; even bezoar itself is poisonous, if you take too much of it." But the tyrant compelled him to eat the entire contents of the box, and then to sit down and play at chess with him, that he might witness the agonies of death; as if, such was his love of torturing mankind, the sight was to give a zest and charm to his amusement. After three games, the physician could play no longer. He was carried to his house, where his attendants were ready to administer antidotes; but he rejected them, alleging, that a man who had a powerful enemy, like the salihdar, had better die than live. He drank some cold sherbet; which, after a strong dose of opium, acted like poison, and thus terminated his existence. The army passed the Euphrates at Birejik by a bridge of boats; the sultan was ferried over in a boat, in which he took the mufti, by way of paying him a distinguished compliment. Five cannons were cast at this place,—two fifty-pounders, and three forty-pounders; eight hundred transports were built in the harbour of Feluje. The executions of all persons convicted of smoking tobacco were continued with unabated rigour. In this way fourteen persons were arrested at Uchbinar, ten at Roha, twenty at Haleb, twenty at Ajegös, as private smokers, and paid the penalty of their smoking enjoyment with their lives; being variously punished by being beheaded, or hanged, or quartered, while some were thrown out in front

of the camp with their hands and feet literally crushed to pieces.

March from Roha or Urfa to Baghdád.

The commissioner who had been sent to Tripolis in Syria, reached the army while it was quartered at Roha. He had brought in custody the judge of the place, Insi Effendi, who had been reported by the páshá as suspected of tobacco-smoking and witchcraft. The páshá had, during Murad's march from Constantinople, when he entered upon his government, cited the Amyr Usaf, one of the two sons of Seifoghli, formerly so powerful in that place, to appear personally before him, had surrounded him and his retinue, and then defeated and dispersed the Arabs who accompanied him, thereby rendering an important service. As the judge, Insi Effendi, was no party to many of his despotic actions, he was accused by the páshá of being addicted to tobacco and witchcraft. But even upon coming by surprise to search the judge's house, accompanied by the commissary, the páshá found no trace of tobacco, and amongst all his books nothing but a cabalistic table, in which there was one single space not yet filled up. This the páshá took care to lay at the top of the books, in order to attract the sultan's notice. Insi arrived at the moment, when eighteen heads were lying before Murad's tent, all heads of persons who had been executed for smoking tobacco. Murad himself was pacing the tent violently with his battle-axe in his hand. When the commissary was announced, introducing Insi, Murad said to the salihdar, with a sneering laugh, " The fellow

will soon be rid of his fears, ha!" "Really, my padisháh, the sight of the eighteen heads is well calculated to drive one's heart out at the mouth." "He may come to morrow," said Murad, "in the meantime I will inspect his books." As soon as he looked at the cabalistic table, he exclaimed, "Indeed! pray what does this empty space here mean?" "Beyond a doubt health and prosperity to your majesty," said the salihdar; "it has been left open for the express purpose of inscribing your name in letters of gold." "He shall fill it up," said Murad; a task which Insi completed at the fall of Baghdád. The author, when the cabala was thus made good by the event, came into such repute, that Murad, directly at his return to Constantinople where the plague then raged, ordered him to make trial of the cabala for his daughter, and presented him with two hundred ducats on the occasion. At Julab the grand vezír, Beiram Páshá, died a natural death; a wonderful circumstance, when we consider the danger of the office itself and the cruelty of the sultan. He was a man of mildness and moderation, at no time the willing instigator of any violent decision, but, as often as the necessity of the case seemed to require it, using his influence to qualify unjust measures. He was succeeded by the Páshá of Mossul, Tajjar Muhamed. Five Persian prisoners whom Gurji Muhammed Páshá, the deposed viceroy of Erzerûm, had sent in, as well as one hundred and ten heads of people who had been killed in consequence of an inroad which he had made in

the direction of Jewres, underwent a species of mock trial, and were then butchered. At Karajatagh the bodies of two tobacco-smokers were ripped up. During the halt of ten days at Diarbeker, the new grand vezír made his entry in state, and was presented by the sultan with four tents of different descriptions; one for state occasions, another for a regular encampment, a third for a temporary halt, and a fourth for his horses. Several investitures of viceroyalties took place. The commandant of the desert, the Arab Amyr Aburish, together with the troops of Haleb and Tripolis, and the viceroy of Diarbeker, Dervish Páshá, were sent forward as the advanced-guard of the army. The sultan in person reviewed the janissaries, and sent home the invalids with a pension of four aspers per man. At Jerrah, the first halting-place on the other side of Nissibin, Rusnameji Ibrahim died, to whose power the grand vezír was indebted for his post. For fifteen years he had exercised a direct influence of the highest kind over the sultan, and nearly as great indirectly by means of his agents the salihdar and Hussyn Páshá, having a deciding voice in appointing to the most important offices, though only a choja of the Divan, and neither vezír nor secretary of state. He was contented with the title of choja, preferring the possession of real power to the appearance of it; thus choosing rather to effectuate his plans in a comparatively obscure post, than to expose himself to the jealousy of the envious by the glare and pomp of a higher station. He had been the main suggester and

instrument of the wise policy adopted by Murad to suppress the rebellion, and was therefore, on all occasions, looked upon as the royal confident, and the pillar of the empire. At Kefr-seman, where they passed the Tigris, died the Beglerbeg of Meroesh; and, at the same place, the Beg of Begshehri suffered death, either upon suspicion of fresh exactions, or for his old attachment to Abasa. Upon reaching Mossul, one of the lieutenant-generals of the janissaries was beheaded for embezzlement. He had been sent to the frontiers of Romeili on a mission to carry off Christian children for enrolment in the corps of janissaries. His orders were, that he himself should take the right wing, along the banks of the Danube; another general was to scour Bosnia and Albania; while a third took the left wing, and invaded Greece for the same purpose. As soon as he appeared in the sultan's presence, Murad cried out, "Traitor! I will silence the clamours against you. Here, kiaja!" Begtash, the lieutenant of the janissaries, who was not aware that the sultan meant him, stood motionless for some time; but it being intimated to him that he was the only person who might arrest a lieutenant-general of janissaries, he seized him by the throat, and delivered him to the executioner. An express was at the same time sent to Constantinople for the execution of the second general: the third was spared at the intercession of the grand vezír. This violent abduction of Christian boys is remarkable as being the last mentioned in Osman history; and still more so,

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that under the most tyrannical of all their sultans, that species of tyranny at least should cease, which compelled the children of Christian parents to renounce the creed of their forefathers: as if the transformation from renegadoes into more attached and faithful slaves was a thing of necessary consequence,—the certain result of a renunciation of their former faith. While the army was at Mossul, an ambassador came from India with a memorial containing an official communication of the march to Kandahar, accompanied by presents, among which was a girdle set with jewels, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand piastres; and an ivory shield covered with the skin of a rhinoceros, which was considered as impenetrable,—neither capable of being perforated by a ball, nor admitting of the slightest impression from a sabre. Murad ordered it to be laid down, and struck it such a violent blow with a battle-axe, that he split the impenetrable shield through and through, so that the point of the hook from the inside was visible. He then sent it back to the ambassador filled with five hundred ducats. The ambassador was also the bearer of rich presents for distribution among the poor at Mekka. In a council of war, held to consider of the way in which the artillery should be brought up, it was resolved, to convey twenty cannons over-land, and to float the rest down the Tigris to Baghdád. Cartridges were distributed among the Saim and Timarlü. The Beglerbeg of Meroesh commanded the night-posts; the Beglerbeg of Diarbeker, the van; Noghai Páshá super-

Indian ambassador.

intended the conveyance of the ordnance. At the first station beyond Mossul, two old feudal tenants quarrelled with the most violent animosity about the possession of a fief, which had become vacant. The affair came before the grand vezír and the sultan himself. Both the candidates exclaimed, "As long as one or other of us is not removed out of the way, no peace can exist between us." The sultan gave them both their quietus—the peace of the grave. Opposite Ali Humami, a Saim forfeited his life, because another pointed out that he held two fiefs. At the Reed Bridge, an order was issued to split reeds for fascines and gabions. Considerable pleasure was excited by the news that Sefer Páshá of Achiska, in an inroad towards Reván, had defeated and put to flight Kelb Alikhan, who made his escape in a wounded condition. Four hundred heads, with some prisoners, and a quantity of trumpets and kettle-drums, were the fruits of the victory. At the same time news arrived that the troops sent towards Shehrsor, on a straggling expedition, had brought in prisoners and a large quantity of stores. At Kerkūk, the standard-bearers were unwilling to take their station any farther in the advanced guard of the army, it being conformable to a long-established custom hitherto observed, that the standards should precede the troops only till they touched the enemy's frontier, but that they should afterwards retire to the rear. The Kapudan Páshá apprised the sultan that Chosrew Páshá, in his campaign to Baghdád, had not ordered them to the rear till the enemy were in sight; and that

a recurrence to the old custom would be regarded as a mark of fear and pusillanimity. A command was immediately given that the standards should take their station in the van. On the hundred and ninety-seventh day after setting out from Scutari, after one hundred and ten marching days, and eighty-six halting days, the army took up a position before the walls of Baghdád.

Nov. 15. Y. of H. 1048. A.D. 1638.

In the two last sieges of the city by the páshás Hafis and Chosrew, Hafis had commenced his attack on the north-west side, close to the Gate of the Greatest Imam, and Chosrew at the south-east extremity, close to the Gate of Darkness. The breaches which had been made in the walls during these operations were since repaired, and some new fortifications were added to those sides, as being probable points of assault; on the other hand, the sides of the White Gate in the middle of the wall, on the land side, had been neglected. Murad had gained this intelligence on his march, from Mir Muhammed, a Persian, who, upon being taken prisoner with his two brothers, was ordered to be put to death, as well as they; but was spared at the intercession of the Salihdar Páshá, and set at liberty. The sultan's tent was pitched in front of the Castle of the Greatest Imam, upon a hill on the side of the Tigris. Murad considered himself unworthy to tread upon the threshold of the Tomb of the Greatest Imam, till he could lay his head upon it as conqueror of Baghdád. He, for the present, did not alight at his tent, but hastened forward to his army; and all the implements for

Siege of Baghdád.

the siege were distributed to the soldiers in the evening for the purpose of opening the trenches that very night. The troops were posted in the following manner. In front of the White Gate, the grand vezír, the aga of the janissaries, and the Beglerbeg of Romeili, with their respective divisions; next to them, extending in a line to the Gate of Darkness, the Kapudan Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Sívás, and the Ssamsunji-bashi (the fourth lieutenant-general of the janissaries), with forty colonels; the Beglerbeg of Anadoli, and the Egyptian troops, the Sagarji-bashi (the third lieutenant-general), with forty colonels. Gurji-bashi and Noghai Páshásade had the command of the outposts. On the side of the Persians, the defence of Baghdád was intrusted to the viceroy, Begtash-khan, having under him, as second in command, Chalif-khan, general of infantry, who was at the head of twelve thousand picked men; as well as Mir Fettah, whom Murad had formerly released, when taken prisoner at the siege of Reván.

After the opening of the trenches during the first night of the army's arrival, the cannons were landed on the following day; ten of them were assigned to the grand vezír, six to the Kapudan Páshá, four to Hussyn Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Anadoli; and the bombarding of the city commenced. On the fourth day, the Salihdar Páshá, and Shahin Páshá of Tripolis, crossed the Tigris with twelve thousand men, for the purpose of ravaging Shehrban,—a place remarkable for the large size of its pomegranates (one was brought to

the sultan, which weighed four hundred drachms); the Salihdar Páshá invested the Bird-Castle (Kush-lar-kalaasi), on the west side of the Tigris, in order to bombard the city on that side; but he charged his lieutenant with the superintendence of the operations, because, as his office kept him in close attendance upon the sultan, he could only come and take an occasional survey. By the eighth day, the trenches were now carried along as far as the edge of the Imam's Sepulchre, and the bastions were shattered to pieces by the guns; but the besieged filled up the breaches by baskets of wicker-work made of palm-trees, strongly interwoven and filled up with earth. Out of twelve Persian prisoners, whom Kenaan Páshá had sent in, the result of a victory over the Persians, eight were immediately beheaded; but four, who were trumpeters, were compelled to blow in the trenches the Persian war-song, in order to frighten the besieged with the intelligence that the army was defeated. They were then condemned to die like their comrades, and the twelve heads were exhibited by being stuck up in front of the trenches. Bags and sheepskins were distributed to the Osmans; more than a thousand palm-trees were cut down; redoubts were ordered to be raised; and the whole army was busied in completing the lines of circumvallation, which were raised amidst volumes of dust, like mountains rearing their heads to the clouds. The sultan himself by his presence encouraged the workmen: "Prove," said he, "that you are not wanting in zeal for the true faith." The grand

vezír had now made himself master of the bastion close to the White Gate; the Kapudan Páshá was in possession of that which had been built by Cicala, when he was Viceroy of Baghdád; Hussyn Páshá had battered down two others, and the walls were levelled to the ground to a distance of eight hundred yards, so that the soldiers were eager to storm the place; but upon ascertaining that large fosses and intrenchments were thrown across as a barrier on the inside, they continued actively to work at the trenches. Nine cannons, which were floated down the Tigris, were distributed among the battering-train of the besiegers; but the Persians lighted up illuminations for three days, expressive of their joy at receiving intelligence that the sháh was close upon the Diala with twelve thousand men. Aburish, the Amyr of the Desert, joined the Osmans, accompanied by ten thousand camels laden with provisions, and the Persian Khan Ali, whom he had taken prisoner. He made his entry into the camp in the Arabian style, according to which delicate women appear in the midst of pikes and lances. Murad went several paces to meet him, and not only received him in the most gracious manner, but ordered forty-seven persons of his retinue to be presented with robes of honour. To prosecute the siege, two hundred and sixty thousand bags were distributed to the army. These being filled with earth, and in this way piled up upon the trenches, which were also filled with the same material, formed a causeway. The viceroys of Haleb and Tripolis were sent together

with the Arabian Amyr, Aburish, towards the Diala to drive away the Persian army, which was posted there. Upon their approach the Persians retreated. The battle of the next day was severely contested; and the aga of the volunteers, and Alaibeg of Chermen, were left dead on the field. Irritated at this, Murad reprimanded the grand vezír in the sharpest terms for procrastinating the general assault, when the trenches were filled and the ramparts raised. He answered, "May the slave Tajjar breathe out his soul, provided only that you, my padisháh, conquer the city." The soldiers were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for storming the place the next day; many an eye was sleepless during the night, the guards perpetually crying, "Allah Ekber," (God is great); and before day-break the storming began. The vezírs, the aga of the janissaries, the beglerbegs, left the trenches, and mounting the rampart, made straight forward to the bastions. The grand vezír, with his drawn sabre, appeared in the foremost ranks of the assailants, and was mowing down the Persians like the sithe of death, when a musket ball pierced his forehead, and came out at the back of his head. "The bird of his spirit," says Naima, "winged its way from the cage of his body to the rose-garden of paradise; he had lived happily, and soared to heaven as a martyr." He was interred close to the tomb of the greatest imam, at the feet of his father, the former viceroy of Baghdád, the second grand vezír of the Osmans who had fallen nobly in the field of battle.

Murad exclaimed, with sighs, "Ah! Tajjar, you were worth more to me than a hundred fortresses like Baghdád; God of his mercy give you everlasting life!" He then delivered the seal of office to Mustafa, the Kapudan Páshá, with the words, "Mark what I say: I expect from you the conquest of Baghdád, and the utmost devotedness and zeal in my service. God protect you!" Mustafa fell prostrate on the ground. "I pray for the favour and good wishes of my padisháh, who is capable of working miracles;" and immediately mounted up to the breach in the walls to revive the spirits of the assailants, which were not broken by the fall of the grand vezír, though their efforts were somewhat slackened by the accident. The new grand vezír put himself at the head of his levende and agas, and made a violent attack; the army followed him like a volcanic eruption, with the cry, "Who knows the day of his death!" His kiaja (the minister of the interior), and many agas of his outer and inner court, fell at his side; but he persisted in the assault, till all the bastions were in the occupation of the Osmán troops. On the following day, which was the fortieth from the commencement of the siege, and which happened to be Christmas day, the very day on which Suleiman the Legislator had, one hundred and sixteen years before, conquered Rhodes, the bulwark of Christendom and of knighthood in the west, Baghdád surrendered, the border fortress on the Persian side, and the pride of the Chalifate; and, after being in the hands of foreigners for fifteen years,

Surrender of Baghdád.

was again incorporated with the Osman dominions, and continues so till the present time.

As soon as the Khan of Baghdád sent a Persian with proposals of surrender, the Chaush-bashi and Hasan Páshá of Nikde went to fetch him to the camp. From the tent of the grand vezír he was introduced into that of the sultan; a guard of honour was ready to receive him, composed of the spáhí and salihdars, and forming two lines, through which he passed. The sultan sat in the tent on a golden throne, with his head bound round with a scarf, in the manner in which it is worn by the levende, below which was displayed a plume of herons' feathers, covered with diamonds of amazing brilliancy; upon his knees lay a sabre set with precious stones; on his right and left stood the pages, with girdles of cloth of gold set with jewels; the mufti, the vezírs, the pillars of the divan at their respective posts, so that the whole divan appeared only an illustration of that text of the Koran, "We have bestowed on you open victory!" The grand vezír then entered, introducing the khan, who prostrated himself to the earth, and begged pardon for the resistance which he had made. "I pardon you," cried Murad, in a commanding tone, "on the condition that you evacuate the city this very day; if you had come sooner, we should not have had so much trouble; but, in consideration of your zealous exertions in the service of your master, I acquit you of all blame." He then presented the khan with a heron's plume set with jewels, a dagger, and a

Persian Governor's favourable reception by Murad.

handsome fur pelisse lined with sables all over on the inside and outside. "The khan and sultans," continued Murad, "have my leave to take their departure this very day; every one whithersoever he pleases, either to the sháh or to me, without any compulsion or constraint of mine." Begtash-khan then went to the grand vezír's tent, and wrote Mir Fettah, and all the superior officers, that they had free leave to march out till midnight; at the same time he advised the grand vezír to give orders for keeping a special eye on the bastions, that they might not be blown up by the springing of mines from within. As the garrison shewed little disposition to march out, a struggle once more took place on the bastions and walls: the khans, Mir Fettah, Jar Ali, and Chalif, upon seeing this, had thrown themselves into the tower called Narin, and the Osmans into the city; the Persians, who were ordered to depart by the Gate of Darkness, thronged so closely as to obstruct the passage. The Turks hereupon fell upon the seraglio of the páshá, which they plundered as well as the Besestan (Exchange). The pillage was general, and death dealt out promiscuously, in spite of the security and freedom which had been promised to the property and lives of the inhabitants. The grand vezír came in person to restore order, but all to no purpose; for the Persians still had arms in their hands, and maintained a partial defence from some towers. Close at the grand vezír's side the Reis Effendi Ismail was shot by an arrow; a Persian was on

the point of cutting down the salihdar with a sabre, but one of his pages fortunately intercepted the blow. During these tumultuous proceedings in the city, a stripling of the Romeilian division came to the sultan and addressed him, "My padisháh, you promised security, but there is no such thing for us." "What do you mean?" said Murad. "My padisháh," replied he, "in this war my father, my uncle, my brothers, and nephews, have all perished; not one relation is left to me. Now is the time, then; why will you balk us of our full revenge? If you spare these accursed Persians, we shall not, I promise you." Murad burst into a loud laugh, and bade him go about his business. A sheikh brought two Persians from Baghdád in irons. Murad angrily said, "I have pardoned them; what is your motive for putting them into fetters?" "They have taken up arms again," said the sheikh, "and will not accept your proffered forgiveness." Murad despatched a young Tartarian lad on horseback to bring him intelligence of what was really going on in the city. When the lad returned with an account of the fight, which was taking place close to the Gate of Darkness, as well as that the Reis Effendi had been killed, and the salihdar in imminent danger, Murad sent the Beglerbeg of Anadoli with strict orders to reduce the Persians to tranquillity, and, if they were refractory, to put them all to the sword. Hussyn Páshá and the salihdar summoned the khans, who had shut themselves up in the tower Narin, to surrender. They did so, and were conducted into the sultan's

presence, who ordered them to be kept in custody by the salihdar. The two sons of Mir Fettah contriving to defend themselves, the guns which had been pointed against the Persians made a monstrous havoc among them; and those who were taken alive, were beheaded in front of the sultan's tent: but a written promise of protection was offered to the sons of Mir Fettah, which they thought it prudent to accept. The Beglerbeg of Anadoli now pressed forward to the bastion of Narin, and drove the Persians from the walls with blows of his mace; yet such was the blood-thirsty feeling of the Turkish soldiery, that they would not hear of the security which had been promised, and indiscriminately slaughtered all who came in their way. Some few hundred Persians, in their attempt to flee through the Gate of Darkness towards the Diala, were pursued by the Egyptian troops, and were most of them cut to pieces; and about the same number made good their escape to Shehrban, where they shut themselves up in a large vaulted room, which fell in and crushed the greater part of them. Of thirty thousand Persians, who composed the garrison of Baghdád, scarcely three hundred reached the sháh's camp in safety; ten thousand men were killed during the siege, and twenty thousand were butchered on the day when the city surrendered. After this an order was issued by proclamation to the soldiery, that the property and lives of all peaceable subjects should be respected, and that the population of Baghdád should be spared. Murad now made a

Proclamation to spare the inhabitants of Baghdád.

pilgrimage to the Grave of the Greatest Imam, and held a divan in honour of his victory. The master of the horse, Chalil Aga, was sent to Constantinople, honoured with the dignity of vezír, as bearer of the joyful intelligence of the conquest of Baghdád; and Chanedan Agasade was charged with the same commission as ambassador to Vienna. Begtashkhan, an Armenian by birth, died suddenly from poison, administered to him by a woman who had no inclination to accompany him to Turkey, while she herself was sent with her whole property untouched to her father, Lor Hussynkhan, lord of the territory of Mendeli, on the other side of the Diala. Begtashkhan, on the day of surrendering the city, had sent to the sultan by the hands of the Kurd Karchghai, who was one of the select few admitted by Murad to his confidence and society, a beautiful Persian sabre, accompanied by a sword-belt handsomely studded with gold. Karchghai, who had an irresistble inclination for this beautiful belt, substituted another in its room. The sultan's armour-bearer ordered the khan to be asked whether he had no belt to correspond with the sabre: thus the exchange came to light; an exchange fatal to the kurd, who suffered death for the offence. An aga of the janissaries was made viceroy of Baghdád, and the command of the garrison with eight thousand men intrusted to another. A sudden inundation, which is said to have been foretold to the sultan by a dervish, completely destroyed all the trenches and works, and hastened his orders for the departure of the army.

There was every appearance of Murad's murderous disposition having been glutted at Baghdád with the blood of the garrison already shed, as well as the executions of two culprits, the former judge-advocate and the defterdar; the first of whom was put to death as a heretic, the latter upon suspicion of treason. But this pause was merely as it were the digesting sleep of the tiger, meditating fresh havoc, and who was awakened out of his slumber by the blowing up of a powder magazine at Baghdád. The explosion killed or wounded several persons, besides eight hundred buffaloes, and at the same time totally destroyed or shattered a great many houses. Then it was that the tyrant, in his rage and fury, commanded the universal massacre of the Persians. Proclamation was made in the camp, that whoever had a Persian near him, had no other alternative than that of killing him or being himself put to death. The camp was crowded with Persians, who had repaired thither in the utmost confidence; there were in it, also, three hundred Persian pilgrims, who were travelling from Imam Ali to Imam Musa, and several prisoners. Of these latter Murad ordered a thousand to be brought in front of his tent, each accompanied by an executioner. They were accordingly drawn up in ranks at the appointed place; the doors of the imperial tent opened, Murad ascended a raised throne; and as, in a different way, on other occasions at the moment when the old Persian monarchs ascended the throne on the festival of new year's day the sun

Universal massacre of the Persians.

rose, on this occasion the life's sun of these victims set in blood at the same moment, while at the simultaneous raising of a thousand swords, a thousand heads were at once rolled in the dust; not like Queen Elizabeth of England, of blood-thirsty memory, in the way of a few solitary individuals, but as Xerxes at Doriscus counted his army like herds of cattle, of which every corps contained ten thousand men, so Murad counted his victims by thousands. The sum total of those who were butchered by Murad, including all descriptions of persons, both under his personal directions in the camp and in the city by his orders, is estimated by the Osman historians, without a dissentient opinion, at thirty thousand. In comparison with this monstrous scene of butchery, the examples of murders recorded in history, where four or five thousand prisoners have been slaughtered, or as many inhabitants of conquered cities, who had been led to suppose themselves pardoned the crime of defending their country, appear trifling and insignificant. The famous conquerors, Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, Richard Cœur de Lion and Napoleon, in their respective murders of Persians at Ghazna,* of Saxons at Werden on the Aller, of Syrians at Akka, and of Turks at Jaffa, incur only a minor charge of guilt; and the only scenes of havoc which admit of comparison with this of Murad's at Baghdád, are those of Jengyz-

* Von Hammer refers to ARRIAN, iv. 2., whose *Gaza* may possibly be the modern Ferghana, in Transoxiana. It is certainly not Gaznah, or Ghizni, in Cabulistan.

khan and Timūr. Thirty thousand slaughtered! An astonishing expense of human blood—the price of tyranny and the love of plunder, of national and religious hatred—at the conquest of a single state, which had surrendered by capitulation; and yet, notwithstanding its atrocity, of a less dark complexion than the tragedy which was enacted only two years afterwards—the monstrous massacre of forty thousand Englishmen by the fanatic Catholics in Ireland. The period of the thirty years' war was, indeed, a bloody epoch, not only in Europe, but in Asia; both in the eastern and western world the atmosphere was tainted with the sanguinary issues of rebellion in the governed, and of tyranny in the ruler, as well as of civil and religious war; and when the tide of blood was at an ebb on the banks of the Tigris, it flowed upon those of the Shannon.

In the middle of January Murad commenced his departure from Baghdád, in the direction of Diarbeker. The Persian ambassador, Makssud, who had been confined a close prisoner, first at Scutari and afterwards, during the campaign, in the castle of Payas, was admitted to an audience at Mossul, dressed in a robe of honour, and despatched with an imperial letter to his master, addressed as follows: "Sháh Ssafi Behader, God Almighty keep you!" conveying also a threat of an Osman army wintering on the frontier, to be in readiness for the renewal of hostilities in the spring, if the districts still occupied by the Persians were not surrendered to the Osman beglerbegs,

and the usual presents transmitted. At the village Muderriskoi, near Diarbeker, the festival of Bairam was celebrated. The goldsmiths of the place being excellent workmen, an order was given them to cast, and forward to Baghdád, doors, shutters, lamps, and other ornaments, all of entire silver, for the Sepulchre of the Greatest Imam.

Sheikh of Rhumia executed.

At Diarbeker, the execution of a single sheikh, Mahmud of Urmia (Rhumia, or Shahey), shocked his followers, who were from thirty to forty thousand in number, much more than that of as many Persians. In the whole extensive district of Tabríz, Revân, Erzerûm, Mossul, Roha, and Wan, he was reputed as a saint, and now honoured as a martyr; for no crime was openly laid to his charge. The best information upon the secret cause of his death is that given by two contemporary historians, the son of Fachreddin, and Haji Chalfa. The Sheikh of Urmia had granted his protection to a daughter of Fachreddin, who had succeeded in escaping from the murder of her family in Syria, and had thrown herself on his mercy. When the sultan was on his campaign to Revân, this daughter had been represented to him by the sheikh as an adept in the art of making gold; whether he had recourse to this as an expedient to save her life, or whether it was that he himself was deceived by her, is uncertain. Be this as it may, Murad gave her a thousand piastres, and immediately appointed a commissary to be present at the alchemical process. When the young Syrian girl enjoyed herself in giving

musical entertainments to the young people of Diarbeker, instead of delivering the promised gold, the commissary sealed up her alchemical preparation, and made his report to the sultan upon the business, who ordered her to be drowned. The effects of his wrath were extended to the sheikh, who had drawn him into the error either knowingly or unadvisedly. But the death-warrant of the sheikh appears to have been rather the result of political considerations, and of a fear arising from the great power which his numerous dependants gave him. Murad was apprehensive that he might follow the course of the sheikh, Borkeli Mustafa, who had formerly raised an insurrection in Asia Minor, or the Sheikh of Sakaría, who had more recently done so. To prevent this, or lest the sheikh should form even wilder schemes of ambition, in imitation of the Sheikh Tomart, who formerly founded the dynasty in Moghreb, and the Sheikh Ismail, who, only a century before, had founded the dynasty of the Ssafi in Persia—the sultan adopted the precautionary measure of putting him to death.

While the grand vezír was left to negociate a peace on the frontiers of Persia, Murad continued his march towards Constantinople. Upon his arrival at Nicomedia, he was waited on by all the officers of the court, and convoyed thence by fifty-eight galleys to the capital, where he landed with great pomp after which he held a divan, attended by the great officers of state, and at which he gave audience to the several foreign ambassadors,

who were accredited to the Osman Porte. Meantime the negociations which had been set on foot were brought to a favourable issue; and, after some short delay, peace was concluded on the following terms: that Hasan, Bedre, Mendelejin, Derne, Derteng, together with the intervening plains as far as Sermenil; the branches of the tribe of Jaf, viz. the tribes Siaeddin and Haruni; all the villages and districts as far as the castle of Salim, in the neighbourhood of Shehrsor, including the defile leading to Shehrsor, and the castle Kisilje with all its dependencies,—should be integral parts of the Osman dominions. That the sháh should leave the fortresses Achiska, Wan, Kars, Shehrsor, Baghdád, Bassra, and all other frontier fortresses now belonging to the Osmanlis, unmolestedly in their possession. On the other hand, that the castles from Mendelijin to Derteng, Jere, and Serdui (called also Semerrüdma, or Emerald Water), with all the villages and districts, fields and forests, lying eastward of the castle of Sinjir, including Mihreban with all its dependencies,—should belong to the sháh, without prejudice on the part of the Osmans. That the castle of Sinjir, situated on the top of the mountain, should be dismantled by the Persians; and that the Osmans should likewise dismantle the castles of Kotur, Makur, and Maghasberd, which were close upon the frontiers of Wan and Kars.—Done on the fourth hour of the fourth day of the month Moharrem, at Sehab, in the neighbourhood of Kassr Shirin.

Peace with Persia.

7 May, 1639.

The grand vezír had, on the first of May, broken up from Mosul. At old Mosul, Rejeb Aga handed to him the imperial sign-manual, ratifying the peace which had been concluded. But he lay encamped at Diarbeker till October, when he received orders to move forward to Constantinople, whither he arrived at the beginning of January, the vezírs, Ulema, and pillars of the divan, going half a station to meet him. He rode a horse richly caparisoned and adorned with jewels, which the sultan had sent to conduct him by the master of the horse. The mufti rode by his side to the pavilion, from which the sultan witnessed the grand procession. The vezírs and pillars of the divan accompanied him to the imperial palace. There he received the standards of the prophet into his hand, which he placed in those of the sultan; he prostrated himself to the earth, and then stood with his arms crossed on his breast. "Welcome, Lala!" said the sultan to him; "richly do you deserve all the honours I can bestow upon you." Murad then gave orders for clothing him with a fur pelisse, lined with sables; after which, the vezír repaired from the high imperial gate at the porte to his own palace, where he received the congratulations of all parties. Y. of H. 1048. A.D.1639.

Murad, who, during his residence at Diarbeker, had been amused with the expectation of transmuting metals into gold by the daughter of Fachreddin, had not given up the pursuit after his return home. He once more listened to the promises of a Moghrebin, that is, of a Western Execution of an Alchemist.

African, who boasted of his art so much that Murad ordered the bostanjibashi to supply him with all that was necessary for the process. He gave his personal attendance on the experiments, which were made in the pavilion of Sinan Páshá, where the superintendents of the goldsmith were to join him. The African put some silver into the crucible, which he reproduced gilded over, and to all appearance real gold. When it was found that the metal would not bear the test, the African was lavish of his assurances that the next experiment would be more successful. Murad gave the usual signal to the armour-bearer—a signal well understood by the mutes of the seraglio—to fetch the executioner, who immediately threw the alchemist upon his knees, demolished his ores at the foot of the sofa, and then mingled the dust with his blood. His head and carcass were wrapped up in his clothes, with a large stone appended to them, and thrown into the sea in front of the pavilion.

But the time was now approaching when the Almighty, in compassion to the groans of humanity, was about to withdraw this fearful instrument of his wrath, and call the monster to his account. Ever since his return from the Persian expedition, Murad had been subject to painful attacks of lumbago and gout. The first severe fit of the disease occurred after the execution of the Sheikh of Urmia, and was at the time considered as a mark of the displeasure of Heaven at the shedding of innocent blood. Now, after having taken his usual exercise of hunting at Begkos, on the Asiatic

side of the Bosphorus, he was once more seized with such extreme violence that, for ten whole days, the utmost apprehensions were entertained for his life. For some three or four months previously, he had refrained from excessive drinking by the advice of his physicians; but, during the fast of Ramasan, a fresh attack of gout fastened upon him so violently that his life was despaired of. At the festival of Bairam, however, he was so far recovered as to hold a grand levee, and receive congratulatory addresses; after which he repaired, as usual, to the pavilion of Sinan, on the coast, to amuse himself with seeing the pages practise the use of various arms and throw the jerid. He then went to the palace of the Salihdar Páshá, situated near the Hippodrome, where he enjoyed the fresh air in the pavilion; but he afterwards gave way to the pleasures of the table with his intimate associates, men of the same irregular habits as himself. The principal of them was Emirgune, the former Persian Khan of Reván, who, since Murad's return from the first expedition to Persia, had been honoured with the greatest favour and confidence as vezír, but had latterly been admitted to the sultan's table, and on the most intimate terms was a partaker of his amusements. Not content with this, the sultan had presented him with a palace close to the Stable Gate at Constantinople, and that of Feridūn near the Bosphorus. This stands at the extremity of the creek of Stenia, on the European bank of the Bosphorus, on the spot which was formerly called Cyparodus—that is, the

Cypress Grove—and where a temple of Hecate formerly stood. Here Emirgune had his palace fitted up in the Persian style, and passed his life in indulging his passions for music and revelling. The place still bears his name. When Murad returned from Baghdád, he gave this prince of his carousing companions ten purses of gold, and five purses to the Persian, Jar Alikhan. These, with the favourite Salihdar Páshá, who only a short time before had married Murad's daughter at the age of thirteen, and a Venetian renegado, named Bianchi, were the four main pillars of this Bacchanalian club. By way of provocative, and to give a zest to drinking, they used the most pungent and high seasoned dishes, and then steeped themselves to excess in sweet malmsey and strong liqueurs.* It was immediately after one of these drunken revels that Murad fell ill, and was afraid he should die. For an eclipse of the sun had taken place the summer before at the configuration of the planet which had the ascendant on his birth-day; and though at other times he was very indifferent about eclipses, either solar or lunar, yet he regarded this as a harbinger of his approaching end, and on this occasion did not care to consult either the astronomer royal, or his physician in ordinary, or the court imam, upon the subject. When the medicines which were administered produced no amendment of the disorder, Murad threatened to put the physicians to death if they

Murad's illness and death.

* Rosoglio, or Rosa-solis, a mixture of brandy, sugar, and perfumes.

did not save his life; and when he began to doubt of their success, he was anxious to send his brother Ibrahim to the grave before him—either from a blind preference to the Salihdar Páshá, with a view to secure to him the throne, which in that case would be vacant by the total extinction of the family of Osman, or from the excess of a diabolical spirit and mad tyranny, suggesting the wish that the throne and the kingdom might expire with himself, and nothing survive but a perpetuity of anarchy and of crime. But there is some probability that he did not believe this illness would be his last, and merely suspected that his indisposition would afford a handle for innovations and plots in Ibrahim's name, which would tend to shake the throne. Perhaps, too, he recollected the inscription of the newly built pavilion, in which the verse from the Koran expressed the name of Ibrahim; or it is possible that the order for his brother's murder might be only the effect of delirium arising from fever. But, as the last seven years of his reign had passed in paroxysms of rage and a fever for bloodshed, no wonder that the last hours of his life corresponded with these feelings. His brother was saved by the interposition of the sultaness-mother, who rescued the last male branch of the Osman line from the murderous phrenzy of his predecessor. Still the intelligence was conveyed to him, that the execution had taken place. Upon receiving the news, a hellish, malicious joy once more for a moment lighted up his countenance. He insisted upon seeing his

brother's corpse; and when nobody stirred to fetch it, when the physicians represented, to no purpose, that the sight of it would infallibly increase his fever, he made an effort to throw himself out of bed, which he was prevented from doing only by his extreme weakness, and by the Salihdar Páshá, who held him in his arms. The court imam, Jusuf Effendi, whose remonstrances against indulging in wine while he was in health had been allowed by Murad to go unpunished, had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the sultan's illness of frequently exhorting him to repentance, and was at that moment in the ante-chamber. On the fifteenth day after his seizure, towards evening, when Murad was at the last gasp, the pages, with tears, summoned the imam to the bed-side, where he continued praying the form of prayer for the dying, the Sura Jes, till the tyrant was no more.

Murad's character.

Murad the Fourth was a tyrant in the fullest sense of the word; of dark and close malignity, delighting in blood and revenge; whose exterior, especially in the last seven years of his reign, was the very counterpart of his soul: a handsome man, something under the middle size, with dark chestnut hair, a bushy dark beard, and black fiery eyes, whose threatening look was rendered still more frightful by the wrinkles which joined the two eyebrows. At his favouring glance thousands of wretches were raised to dignity and honour; at the wrinkling of his brows thousands of heads were rolled in the dust. Of uncommon strength and adroitness, he could throw the jerid as far as an

arrow would fly from a bow, and an arrow further than a bullet is discharged from a musket. He could in this way pierce through plates of four inches in thickness; and he once shivered to pieces an Indian shield made of ivory, and covered over with the skin of a rhinoceros. He was passionately fond of hunting stags, roes, hares, boars, and wild goats, which he used to knock down with his own hand. On these occasions he would have a large company of persons to beat the game, sometimes as many as from twenty-five to thirty thousand; and in this way he frequently amused himself, especially in the last attack of the lumbago, which was brought on in the expedition to Persia. His word—his very nod, was as much feared, and as implicitly obeyed, as the decrees of fate; and, as the birds become mute and fly for shelter at the approach of a storm, so everything became hushed, and retired in dismay from his presence. The absolute necessity of persons making themselves intelligible merely by signs in the tyrant's presence, caused the language of dumb-show to reach its highest perfection; the winking of the eyes, the movement of the lips, the shewing the teeth, or grinning, were all in perpetual practice, as the common modes of communication. And in the same way the system of secret espionage was considerably increased by his own daily and nightly rounds in the street in constant disguises; partly through the race of informers, who had never been sufficiently checked by punishments and were now encouraged by rewards. Whenever he rode out

in public, the janissaries dispersed the people to a distance, long before his approach, with sticks and stones; but his pages, and the attendants round his person, followed his look with the same prompt and blind obedience that the assassins did the commands of the old man of the mountain. Murad's avarice was as insatiable as his thirst for blood. The occasions which more especially called forth these passions were the execution of his brother-in-law, Rejeb Páshá, whereby a million of ducats flowed into his coffers; and the rebellion of the Spahis, when the murder of his favourite roused his long dormant feeling of revenge and love of bloodshed. The sumptuary law of Islam, which forbids men the use of gold and silver vessels, and dresses of silk, was, under Murad, as rigorously enforced as the Roman sumptuary law was under Tiberius; and the owners of costly dresses or ornaments not only avoided any exhibition of them, but carefully concealed them, for fear of inflaming the cupidity and the murderous disposition of the tyrant. His cruelty was partly the result of overstrained exertion to subdue rebellion and treason, and partly the mere paroxysm of violent passion battering in blood. For instance, he ordered some women, who were dancing in a meadow, to be drowned, because he disliked the frolic; and because he hated the tattling of gossips in the market-place, he forbad them to go thither. He once shot dead, with his own hand, the son of a páshá, who approached too near the walls of the seraglio; and he ordered a boat full of women,

which, in sailing by, happened to glide in too close to its garden walls, to be sunk in the open sea. Before he went to Persia, he ordered the master of his musical chapel to be beheaded in his presence for singing a Persian song in praise of Persian valour. But in the general massacre of the Persians at Baghdád, he received into favour the musician Shahkuli, who requested to be conducted into the sultan's presence under the sabre, for that he had an important secret to communicate. Upon being brought before Murad, he said, "I am not concerned for the loss of life, but I am concerned for the school of music, which expires with me." Then asking for a harp with six strings, which was given him, he commenced playing a beautifully pathetic and grand air, accompanying it with words descriptive of the slaughter and conquest of Baghdád. So masterly was the execution, that Murad took him to Constantinople, where he introduced and promoted the cultivation of Persian music. It was owing to a similar occurrence that the sultan, who had renewed the prohibition of drinking wine, became himself so addicted to drinking. Mustafa Bekri, one of the populace, whom he caught in his cups on one of his rounds, offered, in his intoxication, to purchase Constantinople and the son of the slave, that is, the sultan. The next morning, on being summoned before the sultan, and reminded of the treasonable expressions of the day before, Bekri produced a flask of wine from his bosom, telling the sultan, "that it was the liquid gold which surpassed all

the treasures of the world; that it raised beggars to the condition of conquerors, and transformed fakirs into powerful Alexanders." Murad, astonished at the assurance and coolness of this tippler, emptied the flask, and afterwards made Mustafa Bekri one of the first associates of his carousing parties. With these drinking companions he passed the night in debauchery, at a time when the plague was daily sweeping off in Constantinople fifteen hundred human beings. "Now, in the summer," said he, "God punishes the wicked, in the winter he will visit the good;" and, therefore, to dissipate all melancholy thoughts, he drunk out of the largest glasses which could be found at Pera. In the last seven years of his reign alone, more than fifty thousand persons had been executed by his order; and the number of victims during the seventeen years of his reign, both in rebellions, and on the field of battle, and by the hand of the common executioner, is to be estimated, at least, at one hundred thousand; and the hundreds of executions mentioned in the foregoing pages, are only a tithe of that army of the hundred thousand murdered persons, among whom his brothers, and probably his uncle Mustafa, occupy the most prominent station. Whether he had ever read Machiavel's works, translated into Turkish, may reasonably be doubted; but his murderous spirit, and deliberate revenge, were more devilish that the state policy of Machiavel; and his deeply concealed love of revenge, long deferred only to be accumulated with frightful interest, is most

emphatically painted in his own words: "Revenge loses nothing of its strength by growing old." During the seventeen years in which Murad sat on the throne, he had occupied it only for the last seven as an independent sovereign. The first ten expired under the guardianship of his mother, amidst the drawn sabres of spahis and janissaries, either in listless inactivity or a sort of intellectual dissipation (for he both read and cultivated a taste for poetry), and in a fancy for races and for horses, which he took the greatest delight in seeing profusely decorated, though he himself discarded all luxury in dress. He had no fewer than nine hundred led horses with golden bits; forty riding horses of the finest breed, with their pedigrees all known; and from three to four hundred race-horses. Three stables were always in advance, accompanying the standards of the army on every expedition; three more were always in the camp, and in every stable there were from seven to eight hundred horses for the baggage. In most of the sultan's own stables, the cribs were of silver, and the horses fastened with silver fetters. Added to these, there were twelve hundred rows of camels, of which four hundred were assigned to the janissaries, and eight hundred to carry the treasure, and seven hundred rows of mules; each of the pages had from twenty to thirty horses. The flash of lightning which fell close by his side as he was reading the licentious poems of Nefii—the inundation which tore asunder the walls of the kaaba—and the universal revolt of the troops, awakened

him from his indolence. After the fall of the lightning at Beshicktash, he dismissed the mutes and other favourites by the advice of the mufti; and in the following year his confidential servant, Gurji Kochibeg, wrote an uncommonly valuable treatise upon the decline of the kingdom and its institutions; a work which, in Osman literature, and among the writers of Osman history, holds the same rank as Montesquieu's treatise upon the decline of the Roman empire does with us. The author scrutinises and enumerates, without flinching, both the disorders which led to the decay, and the causes which had contributed to the rise of the Osman power. These he sums up in the unlimited power of the grand vezír; the continuance of the offices, the administration of justice, the discipline and purity of the troops, whether receiving pay or holding fiefs, all being radically and fundamentally dependent on the decision of mere parasites. The methods by which these fundamental evils were to be removed, the writer puts into the mouth of the Persian khans whom Sháh Abbas summoned at his accession to the throne; and he then draws the notice of the sultan to the circumstance of the sháh having been enabled, by the abolition of luxury in dress, to raise an army of twelve thousand troops in regular pay, and another of forty thousand under the command of the khans. He represented, that if the horse guards of the páshás were not taken from the paid troops, but, in conformity with the military regulations, from slaves, either purchased or carried off;

if the investitures of fiefs were again bestowed by the beglerbegs as formerly, and the places of the Ulema conferred not from favour, but according to merit; and the general corruption which had become so common should cease,—the kingdom would revive again in all its ancient splendour. He set before the sultan's eyes numerous examples of great rebellions on former occasions having been crushed: that in the reign of Muhammed the Second, Mustafa, at the head of forty thousand rebels, had been immediately defeated by Ahmed-beg; that in the time of Bāyezyd the Second, the Viceroy of Bosnia, Jusuf, had crushed the resistance of the governor in Croatia; that under Murad the Third, Ghasi Tirhehan Páshá had bridled the Cossacs; and under Muhammed the Third, Hasan Páshá, the Fruiterer, had stifled the rebellion of the janissaries by closing the gates and seizing the ringleaders. In conclusion, he laid down for the sultan a plan for the Persian campaign and the conquest of Baghdád, shewing how Persia might be attacked on two sides, either by taking Kars as the base of operations upon Reván, or Childir for a line of operation upon Teflis; and that the army could not winter at Baghdád, but that it would be necessary for it to return into cantonments at Diarbeker or Erzerûm; and that a vezír should be attached to the army as second in command under the seraskier. The result of this sound advice, together with that given by Rusnameji Ibrahim, was visible about two years afterwards in Murad's resolution to apply himself to

the substantial business of the government, a resolution to which he adhered inflexibly. The mulasim offices were abolished; the feudal registers, and the muster-rolls of the troops, were thoroughly investigated; these latter were kept in curb not only by a stipulation on oath, but by the bow-string and the sword. Five years afterwards, immediately before the commencement of the campaign to Baghdád, the books of the Siamet and Timars were inspected afresh; the sumptuary law was more severely administered; the number of the army, including troops in pay and unpaid, regular and irregular, was swelled to two hundred thousand men. Of these thirty thousand were picked men from the hundred and sixty-two apartments of the janissaries, and one thousand from sixty thousand artillery smiths. The revenues were calculated at eight millions of ducats, the fiefs at six millions. In the harem, the mother-sultaness (valide) and the favourite sultaness (Chasseki), both of them Greek women, reigned supreme. The latter was rather lavish than generous, and possessed less influence over Murad than the mother-sultaness, a woman of extraordinary understanding, policy, vivacity, and generosity. The great influence which her beauty and intelligence had secured to her during the reign of her husband, Ahmed the First, as well as her having given birth to ten children (five sons and five daughters), the dowager sultaness continued to exercise, with undiminished power, as tutoress, the first five years of Murad's reign, till she was supplanted by the Salihdar

Páshá. Loathed and abominable as was the tyrant Murad, and however richly deserving the utter detestation of mankind, the truth of history compels us to the following testimony. He gave a fresh edge to the sabre of the house of Osman, which had become blunted in the hands of weak sovereigns; he smothered the hydra of rebellion in its own blood; he restored to the empire the border-fortress of Baghdád, which had been wrested from it, the House of Peace, in which was involved, if not the safety of Islam, yet certainly that of the eastern frontier of the Osmans; and, by a partial removal of the abuses which had crept in, he improved the revenues and the army; he took from the spáhis the management of pious foundations and other offices, and he struck off all interlopers from the rolls of the janissaries and the feudal tenants. By his prohibition of coffee-houses, taverns, and smoking-rooms, he destroyed, root and branch, every combination of factious clubbists and political innovators; while, by keeping the sabre perpetually hanging over the heads of governors and farmers of the revenue, he partly diverted their's from the necks of their dependents, and thus, in some measure, consulted the interest of the many. The Osman empire, which had been deteriorated by the weakness and incapacity of his predecessors,—which, owing to the effeminacy of Murad the Third, the weakness of Muhammed the Third, the youthful inexperience of Ahmed the First, the thoughtless taste for reform of Osman the Second, and the imbecility of Mustafa, had declined from its pristine

greatness,—which had been torn in pieces by civil wars, so that the throne was tottering, the provinces in revolt, and the troops mutinous,—he boiled up again as it were with barbarous cruelty in the caldron of Medea; and, by dint of the sword, stirring up blood by wholesale, imparted to it some degree of energy for a few ages at least, till the period of its rapid and precipitate
A.D.1699. decline, that is, till the peace of Carlovitz.

ERRATA.

In the running title of pages 261, 269, 271, 273, 275, and 277, *for* SULEIMAN THE GREAT *read* MURAD THE THIRD.

Note on page 416, *line* 5.

M. Hammer establishes his allusion to Queen Elizabeth by a quotation from Dr. Lingard's History of England, (Vol. VIII. chap. vi.), as follows:—"The queen celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims." Admitting the fact itself, of the execution of thirty Roman Catholics soon after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, we protest against the inference intended by M. Hammer to be drawn from the extract, as well as against the motives imputed by Dr. Lingard to the queen. As the sentence of M. Hammer, resting on Dr. Lingard's expression, stands in connexion with the context, it is impossible for any reader to conclude otherwise than that Elizabeth was guilty of illegal and sanguinary conduct in this instance;—of a conduct the same in nature, though not in degree, as that of Murad in the massacre of the Persians at Baghdád.

It may not be improper to set before the reader the whole paragraph from the Roman Catholic historian:—"The defeat of the Armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings: the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion; and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the Catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided, or harboured, priests. These immediately, and fifteen of their companions within the three next months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion."

The first motive alleged by the historian for the queen's proceedings is an insult to the humanity of the English nation.

With equal reason might it be affirmed that the parties, whether Popish or Protestant, who suffered under the eighth Henry, and the Protestants who were burnt by Queen Mary in Smithfield and elsewhere, were offered up by the reigning powers "to satisfy the religious animosities of their subjects." Will any one be hardy enough to advance so palpable a falsehood? The other motive by which the historian asserts Queen Elizabeth to have been urged, in the transaction above recorded, is a positive libel on any one possessed of common understanding, not to say a princess of Elizabeth's high capacity and judgment, and whose very profession of Protestantism would have forbidden a sentiment so derogatory to the Divine Majesty, as that of imagining "her gratitude to the Almighty *could* be displayed by *her* punishing the supposed enemies of his worship." Such a sentiment may be papistical, and was probably in some measure entertained by Catharine de Medicis, whose murder of the Huguenots fully entitles her to an epithet inapplicable to Elizabeth, and who should have been substituted for the English queen. Those who believe the latter part of Dr. Lingard's statement,—"It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion,"—should read "Watson's Important Considerations," edited by Mendham. London, 1831. But (if this testimony of Catholics themselves be deemed exceptionable on account of the source whence it comes), "against the units whom she sacrificed, should be weighed the hundreds whom she saved." "Continuation of Mackintosh's History of England." Vol. IV. p. 146. It should be remembered, that on one single occasion, "to her eternal honour, she ordered seventy popish priests, either under sentence of death, or awaiting it, to be released from prison, the rack, and the scaffold." Vol. III. p. 287.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. MOYES, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

CAMPAIGNS
OF
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